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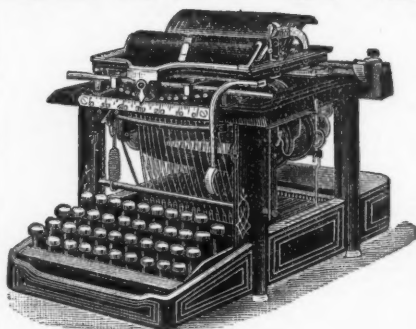
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GEORGE HARRIS, EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the coöperation and active support of their colleagues in the Faculty.*

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THE  
ANDOVER REVIEW:  
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VOL. X.—NOVEMBER, 1888.—No. LIX.

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THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

THAT theory we regard as the best which accounts for the largest number of facts, and which makes the least interference with them as they stand. The body of facts, then, is the sacred and constant element, the theory the fluctuating and tentative. The impulse to manipulate the facts, by excision or conjectural emendation, may, as a last resource, be legitimate; but its *prima facie* indication is that the theory which necessitates it is too narrow. In literary interpretation, such as we would apply to a book of Scripture, it is obviously our first duty to take the work in question just as it has come down to us, just as the last editor left it, with whatever difficulties it contains, making these a part of the problem to be solved; nor are we at liberty to assume that there are interpolations and dislocations until we have so mastered the secret of the book, in its style, its argument, its spirit, as to be sure that no worthy hypothesis can explain it as it stands. The ideal resting-point for the interpreter is only in that place where he sees all the parts of the book in their proper position, and doing what the deepest genius of the work requires.

These considerations, which are obvious enough, rouse in my mind the question whether the decisive word has been said in the interpretation of the Book of Job. As the case now stands with the commentators, the reader is left quite in doubt whether certain portions of the book belong to its original design or not; while to other portions the theory of dislocation and erroneous attribution is freely applied. Now I think I can see that many of the acknowledged difficulties of the book, which impart such a strong centrifugal tendency to some passages and leave others so obscure,

are due less to original fault than to crude interpretation, — an interpretation that extends beyond questions of style and mechanism, even to the received explanation, so long unquestioned, of its purpose and teaching. Let us, therefore, reopen the case from the foundation. It will at least be of interest to inquire on what ground the author, or final editor, whoever he was, could have been content to give to the world the work as it lies before us, without anticipating the corrections of the modern critic. Perhaps, after all, his final touches were not so far out of the way.

## I.

Let us first look at some features of the present interpretation, and see what hermeneutical assumptions or prepossessions appear to lie at the basis of them.

1. To begin with what is more external. The Book of Job presents a certain mechanical regularity of structure, quite lacking in other Hebrew books, which interpreters have taken for granted as determining the articulation of its thought and purpose. It opens with a Prologue, which introduces the *dramatis personæ*, and lays the foundation of the action. Then, after Job has begun the controversy by opening his mouth and cursing his day, his three friends speak in regular succession, and are answered in turn by Job, until each has spoken three times; except that in the third round the last of the friends, Zophar, remains silent, it would seem, in token of defeat, while Job, probably in token of victory, speaks three times. Here end the words of Job. Then a new person is introduced, Elihu, who speaks four times, with none to answer; but breaks off abruptly as the Lord addresses Job out of the whirlwind. Twice the Lord speaks, and is answered by Job in a few reverent words; after which comes the Epilogue, in which the friends are forgiven at Job's intercession, and Job is commended, and delivered from his affliction.

Here we have a framework which is certainly very attractive to the interpreter, and which has the advantage of being perfectly plain without aid from the poetic sense. In fact, the most prosaic mind can revel sufficiently in the mere arithmetic of it. Observe, for example, what a part the number three plays. The minuteness to which the threefold analysis may be traced out, by those who "like that sort of thing," is illustrated in the following, quoted from A. B. Davidson, by the American editor of Lange: <sup>1</sup> "The ruling number *three* is most visible in all its parts. (1) The

<sup>1</sup> Zöckler's Job (*Lange's Commentary*), Amer. ed., p. 231.

whole book falls into three sections: Prologue, Poem, Epilogue. (2) The poem, strictly, also into three parts: Job and the friends, Elihu, God. (3) The discussion between Job and the friends again into three cycles. (4) Each cycle falls into three pairs: Eliphaz and Job, Bildad and Job, Zophar and Job; only in the last cycle Zophar fails to appear, and Job speaks twice. (5) Job sustains three temptations. (6) Elihu makes three<sup>1</sup> speeches. (7) And, finally, very many of the speeches fall into three strophes."

On the other hand, just this kind of analysis may, on occasion, be not a little tyrannous. The ascertained regularity of structure seems constantly pleading to be made more complete and rounded; nor is the plea easy to resist. Take, for instance, the three times three speeches of the friends. It seems a pity that this beautiful arrangement should be impaired by the absence of just one speech, the last of the nine. Accordingly, interpreters have inquired whether that missing speech of Zophar might not have been displaced, or attributed to the wrong person; and some think it is to be found in Job's words, chapter xxvii. 11-23, which, indeed, are similar in tone to what the friends have been saying, and not without difficulty as attributed to Job. If now this *were* Zophar's speech, how charmingly the three-times-three would be rounded off! So it would; but the objection is to making it so on merely mechanical grounds, or, indeed, letting that regularity of structure count at all in the determination. Apart from the inner exactions of the argument, this three-times-three has no more vital significance than has the fact that, in the Prologue, the Lord addresses Satan twice in the same words, or that the four messengers of evil all come with the same stereotyped formula of announcement. All belong alike, doubtless, to a certain mannerism, or rigidity, in the structure of early literature, which the defter succeeding ages outgrew, and which we may be sure a vigorous course of thought like that of the Book of Job would not hesitate to break through as occasion demands. Whether or not a third speech of Zophar is required must be determined on much deeper grounds.

Poor Elihu, too, has to fare rather hardly in this arithmetical style of interpretation. He is a fourth speaker, which circumstance is suspicious. "It is natural to suppose," says one,<sup>2</sup> "that in the *three* speakers whom he introduces, whether the number

<sup>1</sup> Four, as a matter of fact; but let us be slow to disturb the interpreter's comfort in working out his problem by the "rule of three."

<sup>2</sup> Davidson on Job (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*), p. li.

three be his own creation or came down to him in the tradition, the author found sufficient means for expressing all that he desired to bring forward on the side opposed to Job." Besides, forsooth, Elihu is not mentioned in the Prologue. It seems clear that he is an afterthought, put in most likely by a later editor, who could not bear to have Job achieve so clear a victory over his friends when there was a new argument to be urged against him. How easy it is now, having decided that Elihu "must go," to find his language too Aramaic, and then to discover that he is a wordy and tedious boaster, quite unworthy of the company he is in; but how inconclusive also, may be seen from the fact that other interpreters, with a different theory, account Elihu's words as among the weightiest of the book, and find no irregularities of form that are demonstrably too late or too corrupt for the pure classic Hebrew of the rest of the poem. This is not the place to argue the Elihu-question on other grounds, which will perhaps become sufficiently apparent as we proceed; enough is said here merely to furnish food for meditation on the unconfessed tyranny of the number three.

2. All this, however, is merely outside work, from the circumference toward the centre. More satisfactory it is, of course, to begin at the centre, where the book's design and teaching are, and trace our way out into the details. But here it cannot be superfluous to remark that it makes a good deal of difference what centre we take. In fact, the commonly received view of the design, or problem, of the Book of Job needs to be examined anew. That the subject is, as Professor Conant expresses it, "the mystery of God's providential government of men," is an idea that has so long prevailed that some hardihood is required to call it in question. Much is, indeed, said on that subject by the interlocutors, and it undoubtedly plays a large part in determining the thought, or action, of the poem. But does it play the leading part? that is, is this the most central and inclusive subject, to which all else is secondary, or is this itself a *motif* in the exposition of a deeper idea?

Without answering this question at present, one way or the other, let us see what results follow from holding that the book teaches, as its main lesson, the mystery of God's providential government of men.

In the first place, this view makes the book centre in a question raised and discussed by human disputants, and regards the Lord as appearing, in the theophany at the end, mainly in order to



settle the point in dispute. At the same time, the question propounded by Satan at the beginning, "Doth Job fear God for nought?" and, in fact, the whole foundation laid in the Prologue, being thrown into wholly secondary relation, are ignored from the point where the debate begins. Thus it can hardly be said that the introduction really introduces. This fact operates to give a decided centrifugal tendency to the Prologue; nor, indeed, are there wanting those who would discard the Prologue as not belonging to the original design of the book. It does seem to be a kind of intrusion, with its glimpse into heaven and the divine counsels, if, after all, the speculations of a company of bewildered mortals so completely overshadow it.

A second and more significant result is, that this view makes the Book of Job the record of a kind of debating club, wherein the subject is discussed at great length, for and against, and is finally decided by the Lord from the whirlwind. This is a sensible enough interpretation, as far as it goes, whatever we may think of the poetry or the dignity of it. However, as we look at it more closely, we must acknowledge that there are not wanting elements of the book that remonstrate against being pressed too vigorously into such a mould. For one thing, the Lord's supposed decision of the question, when we come to examine it, is no decision: it does not address itself to what the men are debating at all. In order to make it apply to the case, we have to resort to what may be *inferred* from this and that. This fact has not escaped the notice of interpreters; and Elihu is brought in very opportunely here, being as much of a refuge for some as we have found him in the way for others. And his words sum up the discussion, it must be confessed, more really than do the Lord's; for which reason he is regarded by some as furnishing "the first half of the positive solution of the problem." Thus it is given to him to set right both Job and his friends. Yet here we encounter another difficulty; for Elihu is abruptly dismissed by the first word from the whirlwind, as one who "darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge," and Job is singled out at the end, of all the disputants, as the only one who has "spoken of God the thing that is right." If the poem is a debate, its ending must be regarded as rather vague. Then, further, when we come to examine into the manner in which the debaters answer one another, we find little of that vigorous give and take which we associate with the close grasp and analysis of a question. The speakers wander wide of the mark that we have set for them; there is



little definite progress in the reasoning, and much that we have to explain, or excuse, on the convenient ground of Oriental discursiveness. Job, who is regarded as the uncompromising antagonist of all the others, not infrequently seems to give away his case; and once indeed he so closely reëchoes his opponents' thought that some interpreters have been inclined, as we have seen, to give his speech to Zophar. Then there is the twenty-eighth chapter, the magnificent praise of Wisdom, which certainly no one would consent to banish from the poem; and yet it fits so poorly into this scheme of a debate, and seems, with all its princely beauty, so out of place, that Professor Delitzsch conjectures that the original author of the book, or some other poet, may have inserted it from his portfolio. As if the printer's boy were waiting for copy enough to fill out a sheet, and this trifle were put in to meet the emergency.

We find thus that the debate-theory, with its assumed main subject, "the mystery of God's providential government of men," does not result in an exposition so homogeneous as we could wish. Some parts of the poem are left in rather unstable equilibrium, and others have to be pressed quite arbitrarily into the scheme that we have made for them. And we are impelled to ask, After all, does this view reach the heart of the Book of Job, — or shall we look for another?

The best answer to this question, perhaps, is to leave negatives, and see what ground there is for another theory.

## II.

The problem of the Book of Job, — what is it, and what is its solution? We need not look far to answer this question. The problem, propounded by Satan at the outset, and tested by permission of God, is, "Doth Job fear God for nought?" And of this problem Job himself, the man Job, is the solution, far more truly than Job's words, or the words of Elihu, or the august address from the whirlwind. Job *does* fear God for nought; that is, his integrity is no vulgar barter for reward, as Satan supposed, but deeply founded on the truth of things, — so deeply that he takes leave of friends, of family, of life, nay of God himself, as he has hitherto regarded God, in order to be true. If we will let this initial problem guide us consistently through the poem, instead of allowing ourselves to be lured away after the decision of a debate, we shall find the way, I think, not at all hard or occult. And we shall be brought to a vision of greatness in life and char-

acter such as, for sublimity, it will be hard to parallel in literature, however highly we may value the divinest creations of an Æschylus or a Milton.

It would be idle, of course, after these centuries of study and comment, to present this view as if it were a new discovery; perhaps any absolutely new theory must by its very newness incur suspicion. To begin the exposition with the question of Satan's is not uncommon; Professor Godet, for example, presents it very attractively in his essay on the Book of Job, which Professor Delitzsch regards as the best popular exposition that has been given. But it seems to me that even Godet, who begins on the idea so bravely, loosens his grasp to a great degree; nor can I recall any interpreter who has trusted himself to it as fearlessly as it will bear. It is indeed strange — and I can only attribute it to theological prepossessions — how reluctant interpreters are to bear their whole weight on the Scripture view of Job's character. When the Lord says Job has "spoken of me the thing that is right," they say, "It may be, but also a great deal that is wrong," which latter they proceed to sift out with care; and when St. James says, "Ye have heard of the *patience* of Job, and seen the end of the Lord," they answer, "Nay, but Job was also very impatient," and begin to cite from the ninth chapter.

Job himself is the solution of the Job problem. That is to say, we are to find the central significance of the poem in a *person* rather than in a system of thought or reasoning. How God deals with men, and how men interpret his dealings, are indeed important questions, and not to be ignored; but more vital still is the question what Job *is*, becomes, achieves, in the fiery trial of God's unexplained visitation. And as we trace his soul's progress step by step, as it is revealed to us through his own words and the attacks of his friends, we shall find ourselves increasingly impressed with the author's colossal conception of Job, one of the heroic figures of the world's literature, the veritable Hebrew Prometheus, and this old book the record of a sublime epic action, whose scene is not the tumultuous battlefield, or the arena of rash adventure, but the solitary soul of a righteous man.

I have called the poem an epic; and this opens the much-discussed question of the literary type to which it belongs. It has been called a drama; and in favor of that view may be urged the fact that it contains fairly individualized characters, and that its thought is developed by means of dialogue or colloquy. On the other hand, it certainly could never have been modeled with refer-

ence to the stage; and as a closet drama its colloquies are too much built discourses, and too careless of the cue between speaker and speaker, to have been constructed on the conversational model; besides it is altogether lacking in such dramatic action as can be made palpable either to the eye or the ear. It has been called a didactic poem; and undoubtedly it is, if it is preëminently a debate. On the other hand, the lyric intensity that fills every part and seems so often to scorn logical bounds, will hardly permit the didactic spirit to predominate. To the view that it is an epic, there presents itself at first thought a grave objection. The narrative, the action, seems lacking. The whole course of the poem is developed through what Job and Eliphaz and Bildad and the rest "answered and said." May there not, however, be an action disguised, an action to be read between the lines? The Hebrew poetic style, we know, with its basis the parallelism, which pauses at the end of every line and develops the thought by perpetual repetition and antithesis, is singularly unadapted to narrative, — so unadapted, that when he has a simple story to tell, as, for instance, in the Prologue and Epilogue to our poem, the Hebrew author has spontaneous recourse to prose. On the other hand, for a sententious lesson, or *mashal*, for the brief and telling utterance of emotion, aspiration, precept, the Hebrew poetic style is a remarkably perfect medium. Now in the Book of Job we have indeed a story, an action, but an action of very peculiar kind: the scene, so far as the eye can see, only an ash-heap outside an Arab city, but to the inner view the soul of man, with all its warring passions, beliefs, convictions. It is the spiritual history of the man of Uz, his struggles and adventures, unknown to sense, but real to faith, as his fervid thoughts "go sounding on, a dim and perilous way." To portray such an action, so as to lay the inmost thoughts of one soul upon another, this *mashal* style, with its trenchant parallelisms, so far from being a disadvantage, is perhaps the unique and only adequate medium. Through it not the author speaks, but the man himself, laying bare the secrets of his own heart. Curiously enough, a similar method of developing a narrative-action has been largely employed by the poet of our own day who has done most to sound the depths of spiritual insight and experience, Mr. Browning, whose so-called "dramatic method" is merely his deliberately adopted way of bodying forth at once the inner and outer elements of a story, —

"By making speak, myself kept out of view,  
The very man as he was wont to do,  
And leaving you to say the rest for him ;"

and every student of Browning will testify to the wonderful vividness with which each one of his chosen characters is made to live a piece of his life before our eyes.

If this view of the case is the right one, we see explained, in this peculiar narrative method, not only the epic action, which being exceptional requires exceptional expression, but also the lyric intensity and the dramatic vigor which have caused such difference of view in assigning the poem to its type. The utterance of the deepest moods and convictions of the soul is lyric and dramatic; it sounds the whole gamut of expression, having a great experience to utter. So all these elements work together in this Book of Job to make what we may regard as the Hebrew national Epic, expressed in a style and spirit peculiarly Hebrew.

Every nation according to its genius. We often speak of that idea of beauty whose evolution seems to have been the Greeks' mission in the world, and of that idea of law and organism which we get from the Romans. We know likewise that no other nations have ever approached the Hebrews in their genius for apprehending spiritual truth. If the Hebrews were to give to the world an epic, would it be a story of battle and bloodshed, or of strange adventures beyond the seas? These by no means represent their national character. For the most genuine expression of their life you must look under the surface, in the soul, where worship and aspiration and prophetic faith come face to face with God. And what epos could more truly gather into itself the most sacred ideal of such a nation than this story of Job, the Hebrew Prometheus, who on his ash-heap, smitten of God, and afflicted, continued honest with himself, true to what he saw in the world, loyal to what his soul told him was divine, until the storm was past and his foe shrank baffled away? Is not such a theme worth singing?

The Epic of the Inner Life, — by this name we may call the book before us. As such, its significance is more than Hebrew; it extends far beyond national bounds to the universal heart of humanity; nay, it is with strange freshness and application to the spiritual maladies of this nineteenth century that the old Arab chief's struggles and achievements come to us, as we turn the ancient pages anew.

### III.

Let us now see if we can substantiate what has been asserted, by tracing out somewhat at length what I have ventured to call the action of the Book of Job.

Job, a man perfect and upright, who has always feared God and shunned evil, and whose righteous life has always reaped its natural fruitage of honor and prosperity, is suddenly overwhelmed with the deepest afflictions; one stroke following hard upon another — loss of property, loss of children, and finally the most loathsome and painful bodily disease — until he can only long for death. At first he accepts his afflictions devoutly, attributing no injustice to God, and sharply rebuking any suggestion of disloyalty; but as months of wretchedness pass, his musing spirit finds itself girt round with a darkness and mystery wholly impenetrable. Consider the difficulties into which he is plunged. Of the scene in heaven, where Satan has moved the Lord "to destroy him causelessly," Job has of course no knowledge. No Satanic agency is visible: all the data point to God as the direct inflicter of the stroke. The four calamities occurring in one day cannot be an accident; the fire from heaven and the wind from beyond the desert cannot be casualties of this world, like the violence of men; and most indubitable of all, his disease, elephantiasis, is universally recognized as the most dread sign of God's immediate visitation. It is taken for granted by all, Job, his wife, and his friends, that he is the object of God's wrath. Here then is Job's difficulty: God is punishing him, — and for what? He is conscious of no sin to deserve it; his heart does not "reproach one of his days." It is unjust that he should perish without knowing his crime. But his bewilderment goes deeper still. If he, a righteous man, is treated as if he were wicked, then the world is out of joint; the bounds of right and wrong, of justice and iniquity, are wholly confused; and where is the truth of things? Are the powers that work unseen arrayed after all on the side of evil, and against godliness? Is it falsehood that wins in this universe? Such is the labyrinth of "dreadful and hideous thoughts" through which Job must grope his way to the light.

The course that Job takes is set off very suggestively, by contrast, in the characters of the *dramatis personæ* with whom he is associated.

Of these, the most deeply contrasted to Job is Satan, the Accuser, who instigates the trial. In studying this character, we need to dismiss from our minds, for the time being, the Satanic traits that come to light in other parts of Scripture, and confine ourselves to the record before us. The being who appears here so familiarly among the sons of God is no Miltonic Satan, no monster of black malignity and unconquerable hatred. The most

striking trait of his character seems to be simply restlessness, unquiet. In his "roaming to and fro in the earth and walking up and down in it," and in his eagerness to try experiments with Job, we are reminded of that New Testament evil spirit, who being cast out of a man "walketh through dry places, seeking rest." A homeless, unquiet spirit; may we not say then that Satan is a spirit unanchored to any allegiance, a spirit who has lost his moorings? Being attached to nothing above himself, to steady him and give him principle, all his regards centre merely in self-gratification; having no goal beyond the present he lives simply to appease the restlessness of the moment. So we find him, naturally enough, a mocking, detracting, reckless, impudent being, what Goethe calls a "schalk."<sup>1</sup> For a being like this, such a thing as disinterested goodness is non-existent; he has no faculty to comprehend it. When he asks the sarcastic question, "Doth Job fear God for nought?" and when he lays the wager with God to sever the patriarch from his allegiance, he is merely speaking out of his own utter selfishness, and interpreting men as good or evil, just as it happens, for a price. In polar contrast to this stands Job. His soul is so deeply anchored to what is good and true that the idea of barter, of work and wages, finds no room in the calculation; — nay, so deeply that he is forced to cut loose from what his friends say of God, to take his life in his hand and remonstrate with God Himself, as he looks out on a confused world; and thus, putting uttermost faith in goodness, he "voyages through strange seas of thought alone," finding radiant landing-places of faith one after another, until he comes to see that being anchored to the good and true is being anchored to God after all.

The other contrast is afforded by the friends who come to visit him. They represent the kind of theology that the whole devout world, Job with the rest, has hitherto held, a theology which ages of wisdom and reflection have evolved. A very convenient creed it is, too, — for fair weather, and for the routines of life. That God deals with men by an unchanging and in the main calculable law, — good receiving its reward in prosperity, evil receiving its desert in woe, — this we may depend upon as the principle on which to build our life. It is a good belief by which to square men up to law and duty. At the same time, this belief may be so held as insensibly to become merely a refined sort of work-and-wages theory. Serve God, and you will prosper;

<sup>1</sup> Goethe's imitation of this opening scene of the Book of Job, in his Prologue to *Faust*, interprets Satan's character in many respects exquisitely.



if woes come, betokening God's displeasure, turn to God anew, and prosper again. If this were all, — and it very nearly sums up the friends' creed, — we might with only too much reason say, Does such a believer fear God for nought? But the fierce light of his affliction opens Job's eyes to see that this is not all. Black shadows are revealed, in which lie impenetrable mysteries, things that the unafflicted soul cannot appreciate. Here then is suggested the contrast: The friends, who have never been quickened by suffering, are conventional believers, their God a traditional God, remote, undelighted in, their creed a hide-bound system, for the sake of which they deny both the righteousness of Job and the mystery of evil that is in the world; Job, whose affliction has startled him with the sense that God's face is darkened, turns to God as the needle to the pole, seeking supremely after light, reality, communion, and advances with increasing insight until at length he can say, "I had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee."

The voyage of Job's soul to God, his anchorage and his light, which is the action foreshadowed in the foregoing contrasts, we are now ready to trace a little in detail.

The first feeling of a soul thus plunged into undeserved misery we can readily divine — the sense of utter bewilderment. This is the feeling that finds expression in Chapter iii., where Job opens his mouth and curses his day. Weariness of life, passionate desire for death, with its rest and its oblivion, are but the surface-waves of his agitation; its deep cause lies in his feeling that his life has lost its guidance and direction.

<sup>1</sup> "Wherefore giveth He light to the wretched,  
And life to the bitter in soul? . . .  
To a man whose way is hid,  
And whom God hedgeth in?" (iii. 20, 23.)

Yet he never thinks of reproaching himself as wicked, or even as unconsciously corrupt through the innate sinfulness of men; on the contrary, the watchful solicitude with which he has hitherto led a faithful life before God is one great element of his bewilderment: —

"For I feared a fear, and it hath overtaken me;  
And what I dreaded is come upon me.  
I was not heedless, nor was I at ease,  
Nor was I at rest, — yet trouble came." (iii. 25, 26.)

So, with the mournful comfort that sympathizing friends are

<sup>1</sup> The quotations that will here be given from the Book of Job are from an unpublished translation by the author of the present article.



still about him, Job pours out the bitter fullness of his heart. As he pauses, however, he is surprised to find, not murmurs of sympathy, but silence and averted faces. The three friends have scented heresy. Here is a man who when the stroke comes is *not* all submission, does not own that it is clear and deserved. He must be set right, and God must be justified, let friendship stand or fall. With very conciliatory words, Eliphaz, the eldest of the three, takes him in hand, and reminds him gently of his inconsistency, —

“If one essay a word with thee, wilt thou be offended? —

Yet who can forbear speaking?

Behold, thou hast admonished many,

And thou hast strengthened feeble hands;

Thy words have confirmed the faltering,

And bowing knees hast thou made strong;

But now it is come upon thee — and thou faintest;

It toucheth thee, and thou art confounded.” (iv. 2-5.)

Then he goes on to read Job a lecture, in which he presents — in general terms and leaving Job to make his own applications — the prevailing doctrine, hitherto unquestioned, of sin and retribution. It is the most elaborate speech of the friends, and anticipates substantially their whole argument, Elihu's included. We can stop for only a word of outline here. It is the argument that everything in the world comes by justice and desert; that punishment has its sufficient cause in sin, open or secret; and that thus in God's wrath we may read man's wickedness. This is what Job has always believed; nor is it to be called untrue, so much as inadequate and without application to the present case. The three friends all present the same view, varying merely in their manner of enforcing it. Eliphaz draws his arguments from the universal “natural law in the spiritual world,” —

“Bethink thee now: who that was guiltless hath perished?

And where have the upright been cut off?

As I have seen, — they that plow iniquity,

And that sow wickedness, reap the same;” (iv. 7, 8.)

he has also a deep spiritual view of the corruption that lurks unseen in the heart, making desert of punishment where it may even be unsuspected. Bildad, whose anger is roused by Job's assumption of righteousness and complaint to God, emphasizes the justice that orders all things, —

“Will God pervert the right?

Or will the Almighty pervert justice?

If thy children have sinned against Him,

So hath He given them over into the hand of their transgression,”

(viii. 3, 4.)

and draws arguments from the wisdom of the ancients. Zophar, who is incensed by Job's passionate remonstrance with God and call for explanation, urges the folly of seeking the mystery of God's ways, —

"But oh that God might indeed speak,  
And open His lips against thee,  
And show thee the hidden things of wisdom, —  
For there is fold on fold to truth, —  
Then know thou, that God remembereth not all thy guilt against thee.  
Canst thou find out the secret of God ?  
Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection ?  
Heights of heaven, — what canst thou do ?  
Deeper than Sheol, — what canst thou know ?  
Longer than the earth is its measure,  
And broader than the sea." (xi. 5-9.)

All three of the friends, too, in turn join in exhorting Job to put away his iniquity and return to God, — which of course begs the whole question of Job's wickedness.

To the friends' arguments Job does not answer at length until all have spoken. He is musing onward in a way of his own. Yet he marks what they say, and it has its effect in kindling his own thoughts, which rise in this part of the poem to their highest intensity. As they go on with their exposition of God's dealings, Job is becoming aware of the full significance of his case. Nor is he disposed to deny their assertions; to what they say he answers, "Of a truth I know it is so, — who knoweth not things like these?" And yet from the beginning their theology is strangely insipid; it does not seem to reach the source of his complaint, —

"Doth the wild ass bray over the fresh grass ?  
Or loweth the ox over his fodder ?  
Can it be eaten — what is tasteless, unsalted ?  
Or is there savor in the white of an egg ?  
My soul refuseth to touch !  
They are as loathsome food to me." (vi. 5-7.)

It breaks his heart, too, to see his friends drifting from him; plaintively he beseeches them to return and show him wherein he has erred; but there is no comfort in them. They are judging him by the visitation that has overtaken him, and think that they are justifying God by withholding sympathy where God has apparently withdrawn favor. Meanwhile, one thing is left to Job: to be honest with himself, to cherish the integrity that has always been his life. The desire to leave this intact and beyond the reach of temptation sharpens even his longing for death: —

"Oh that my request might come,  
 And that God would grant my longing !  
 That it would please God to crush me ;  
 That He would loose His hand and cut me off.  
 For then it would still be my comfort, —  
 Yea, I should exult in pain, though He spare not, —  
 That I have not denied the words of the Holy One." (vi. 8-10.)

Here then, at the outset, Job has struck the key-note ; has reached the intrenchment where the battle is to be fought out to the end : loyalty to what is Godlike and holy. It is with trembling that he sees the long conflict before him ; but to live necessitates it.

But the clouds thicken. Eliphaz has already recounted what was revealed to him by vision, and intimated that Job, by his anger, is losing the ability to see as the immortals see. Job avers, indeed, that in calling himself righteous, he is speaking out of a spiritual perception of good and evil that is still keen and true ; and yet God's hand continues heavy upon him. He cannot understand why that unknown sin of his, which at the worst is so venial that forgiveness may be sought as a right, should be pursued relentlessly like a heinous crime, down to death. Then, too, why will such a God give no account, no explanation, no standard for man to live by ? Bildad says God is just ; but in such a mystery as this where is justice to be found ? If this is justice, why, then, justice means God's arbitrary will, God's infinite caprice ; and the only way one can recognize justice is by noting which way God's favor happens to set. No man can maintain his ways before such a tribunal. Let him have never so righteous a cause, and it is but the turn of a hand for God to prove him perverse. Nay, and into what hideous confusion does such a government throw the whole world ! No resource left for what has been called righteousness ; the bounds of good and evil, of right and duty, are wholly obliterated. With such a state of things Job will not have alliance. Thus he reaches his everlasting No, and records his protest against a world so governed. I wish I had space to illustrate by quotation the tremendous energy of Job's arraignment of God, in the ninth chapter. The whole chapter ought to be cited ; here are a few lines : —

"Is the question of strength, — Behold, the Mighty One He !  
 Of judgment, — 'Who will appoint Me a day ?'  
 Were I righteous, mine own mouth would condemn me ;  
 Perfect were I, yet would He prove me perverse.  
 Perfect I *am*, — I value not my soul — I despise my life —  
 It is all one — therefore I say,  
 Perfect and wicked He consumeth alike.

If the scourge destroyeth suddenly,  
 He mocketh at the dismay of the innocent.  
 The earth is given over into the hands of the wicked ;  
 The face of its judges He veileth ; —  
 If it is not He, who then is it ?" <sup>1</sup> (ix. 19-24.)

This is the passage, in especial, that commentators have referred to, when, taking exception to God's own dictum, they maintained that Job does not always "say of God the thing that is right," but sometimes what is wrong, even blasphemous. But consider, Job is not arraigning that God who is recognized as truth and holiness ; rather he is speaking *in the interests* of truth and holiness, against that conventional God whom the friends have created before his eyes out of their arid theologies, the God who by his own confession has been "moved against Job to destroy him causelessly," and of whose mysterious visitation, whatever its purpose, no man has yet found a meaning in which the consciously upright soul can rest. *Is it so far out of the way ?*

Prometheus, a god, chained on Mount Caucasus, could defy the rage of a god whose enmity and whose supremacy he was to outlive ; Job, a mortal ready to die on his ash-heap, does not defy, does not hate, does not forswear allegiance, but sends forth into the darkness the immortal protest of the creature against what is ungodlike and unholy : —

"Is it seemly for Thee that Thou shouldst oppress,  
 That Thou shouldst despise the labor of Thy hands,  
 Whilst Thou shinest on the counsel of the wicked ?" (x. 3.)

I confess the hero of the old Hebrew epos seems to me the sublimer of the two.

Thus the speeches of two of the friends have combined with Job's anguish and bitter sense of injustice to press from him his remonstrance against what he must recognize as the unjust order of things. As yet it has not occurred to him to question the truth of what they say ; until the third friend, Zophar, follows with his angry rebuke of Job for daring to call himself pure, and for presuming to pry into the secret of God. All have spoken now, and their uniform drift is evident. Job's eyes are getting opened ; he begins to see that they do not know everything : —

"Of a truth, ye are the people,  
 And wisdom will die with you ! . . .  
 Doth wisdom dwell with hoary heads,  
 And is length of days understanding ?" (xii. 2, 12.)

<sup>1</sup> The chapter on The Everlasting No, in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, reproduces with remarkable vividness the spirit of Job's protest.

What is true in their speech is not new; he knows it already. That the whole world is God's handiwork; that when He doeth there is no undoing; that He deals with righteous and sinful, with wise and foolish, with individual and nation, just as He will, — these things none will question. So his first answer to them, after hearing what all have to say, is to recapitulate and indorse their general position.

"Behold, all this hath mine eye seen;  
Mine ear hath heard and understood it well.  
What ye know, that know I also;  
I am not inferior to you." (xiii. 1, 2.)

But all this has not touched his real issue with them. In spite of the abstract correctness of their doctrine, they are "forgers of lies, patchers-up of nothings." For as he sees them maintaining God's justice through thick and thin, and denying Job's righteousness in order to do it, the thought flashes upon him that their righteousness is merely a conventional name for *the winning side*; they are calling his transparent integrity sin, not because an inner truth of their nature compels them to see it so, but because, forsooth, he is a leper. They have found out by this affliction which way God's favor seems to point, and they are hastening to ally themselves with it and be safe. Such a selfish use of God rouses his soul to stinging rebuke: —

"Hear ye now my rebuke,  
And listen to the charges of my lips.  
Will ye speak *what is wrong*, for God?  
And will ye, for Him, utter deceit?  
Will ye respect His person,  
Or will ye be special pleaders for God?  
Would it be well, if He should search you out?  
Or will ye mock Him, as man mocketh man?  
He will surely convict you utterly  
If in secret ye are respecters of persons.  
Shall not His majesty make you afraid,  
And the dread of Him fall upon you?  
Your wise maxims are proverbs of ashes;  
Your bulwarks turn to bulwarks of clay." (xiii. 6-12.)

Thus Job, piercing by the insight of truth to the heart of his friends' life, finds that they are *not* serving God for nought; they are shrewdly calculating where the chances of reward and prosperity lie, and shaping their views of right and wrong accordingly. This is enough; no more alliance with them. From this point onward Job's attitude toward his friends is changed. He no longer regards them as men of wisdom, nor does he let any

more words of theirs go unquestioned. Henceforth he sees and treats them as spiritually blind, —

“For their heart hast Thou hid from understanding ;  
Therefore Thou shalt not exalt them.” (xvii. 4.)

Nor has this encounter with his friends left Job the man he was. It has carried him over from the everlasting No to the everlasting Yea. Farewell now, fear and complaining ; farewell, trust in the wise maxims of men : face to face with death and the worst that his unseen enemy can do, Job turns solemnly from his friends and commits himself to his righteousness, in supreme faith that its issue, though at present he sees it not, will be salvation : —

“Be silent ; let me alone ; and speak will I,  
Let come upon me what will.  
Wherefore do I take my flesh in my teeth,  
And put my life in my hand ?  
Behold — He may slay me ; I may not hope ;  
But my ways will I maintain to His face.  
Nay, that shall be to me also for salvation,  
For no false one shall come into His presence.  
Hear, O hear my speech,  
And let my declaration sound in your ears.  
Behold, now have I set in order my cause ;  
I know that I shall be justified.” (xiii. 13-16.)

This declaration we may regard as the centre, the bed-rock, so to say, of the Book of Job. To appreciate what it means for Job to make it, reflect that the wisdom of man, the voice of the past, the utterance of trusted friends, have all raised their voice in unison with a mysterious visitation of God to declare the contrary. Job is launching out into the darkness alone, staking life and destiny on the belief that the powers that work unseen, in spite of inexorable appearances, are for righteousness.

Doth Job fear God for nought ? The sneer of Satan is answered.

But having traced the progress of Job's soul to this point, let us be clearly aware what is done, what remains. And in fact we find that he still has, as Browning expresses it, “all to traverse 'twixt hope and despair.” The achievement that we have traced thus far has been mainly negative. By remonstrance against an arbitrary God, and by reaction against the self-seeking theology of his friends, he has reached a landing-place where he can say, “I know that I shall be justified.” That is much to say ; but how, or when ? His suffering remains a fact, all too palpable ; he is at the gates of death, with no outlook ; and all his importunate

demand for explanation of the mystery is but "shouting question after question into the Sibyl-cave of destiny, and receiving no answer but an echo." Where shall he find some *pou sto* whereon to lift the weary weight of the problem that presses upon him?

The problem all comes from his absorbing quest after that divine presence which he "has loved long since and lost awhile."

"But I, — to the Almighty would I speak;  
I long to make plea unto God," — (xiii. 3.)

is the constant burden of his desire. Two questions there are, to which his mind turns and returns with pertinacious inquiry, and whose answer he must in some way find, on his soul's way to God and light. In his musings on these questions we may trace what may be called Job's positive achievements in faith, his impetuous efforts to enter the darkness that closes him round and *create* what he sees ought to be. This feature of the poem constitutes the most significant part of the action: it is, as it were, revelation in the making.

The first question — implicit, of course — is, How to bridge the chasm that has opened between his soul and God? From the beginning of his affliction this question has recurred in various forms until it has become agonizing. God has fenced up his way, that he cannot pass. To his frantic inquiries why he is afflicted, God vouchsafes no answer. Then the friends go on with their merciless theodicy, portraying a God who is a grotesque projection of their own hard selves, a God throned above all judgment, all defense of the creature, until Job must raise against such a conception his everlasting No. It is in the midst of this protest that his constructive faith begins to image a solution, — negative at first, fond dwelling of fancy on a state of things that he must confess is not, but how good if it were. It is the idea of a Daysman between him and God: —

"For He is not a man, like me, that I should answer Him,  
That we should come together in judgment;  
Nor is there any daysman between us,  
Who might lay his hand on both of us,  
Who might remove His rod from upon me,  
That the dread of Him should not unman me.  
Then would I speak, and would not fear Him;  
For as I am now, I am not myself." (ix. 32-35.)

How necessary he regards the office that a Daysman should fulfill, is seen in the request that he urges, as soon as his declaration of his faith in righteousness brings him to the point where he has "set in order his cause": —



"Only these two things do not Thou unto me, —  
 Then will I not hide myself from Thy face : —  
 Remove Thou Thy hand from upon me,  
 And let not Thy terror unman me ;  
 Then call Thou, and I will answer Thee,  
 Or I will speak, and return Thou answer to me." (xiii. 20-22.)

Here let us leave for the present this question, with its suggested solution, and turn to the other.

The second question, or questioning, centres about the enigma of death. Like many a perplexed soul after him, Job has to beat his wings against the barriers of the grave. Even if he were a transgressor, the mystery is that God will not "look away from him," will not forgive his sins and leave him alone. Why pursue him so cruelly, if he is destined so soon to drop into "the jaws of vacant darkness and to cease"? In this very fact that God watches and judges such a "driven leaf" as man, and pursues him out of the world, there is a strange inconsistency: the care seems so out of proportion to the object. Who shall solve such a discrepancy? Yet stay — here is what *would be* a solution, if it were only true, which, alas, we cannot say: suppose man should live again, as the tree that is cut down sprouts anew!

"Oh that Thou wouldst hide me in the grave,  
 Wouldst keep me secret until Thy wrath is past,  
 Wouldst set me a time, and remember me !  
 If a man die — might he live again ?  
 All the days of my service would I wait,  
 Until my renewal came ;  
 Thou wouldst call, and I would answer ;  
 Thou wouldst yearn after the work of Thy hands !" (xiv. 13-15.)

This solution, like the other, is suggested only negatively, only as a radiant fancy, at first; but both are germinating seeds, and when we meet them again they will have grown, by a kind of unconscious cerebration, into greater things.

So much has Job achieved, in protesting and creating, by the time the three friends have spoken once. They are of course moved to answer; but it makes little difference now what they say. Until they have all spoken again, Job does not address himself to their arguments, being engaged in exploring the new region that his questioning and his faith have opened. Let us first follow him.

Eliphaz having spoken a second time, Job, stopping for only a word in scorn of his unavailing speech, turns to the ever-present subject of his affliction. So severe, so pitiless, so inveterate is his

anguish, that he can only count its inflicter as his enemy, and that enemy he can only identify with God. He seems to tax the power of language to its utmost to portray the deadly conflict that God is waging with him. Yet, by a strange antinomy, he draws steadily nearer to God for refuge; he seems almost to divide God against Himself, in his eager belief that he *must* have a Friend who is a friend of righteousness: —

“Earth, cover not thou my blood,  
And let my cry have no resting-place!  
Even now, behold, in heaven is my witness,  
And my advocate is on high.  
My friends are my scorers,  
But unto God mine eye poureth tears,  
That HE would plead for man with God  
As the son of man for his neighbor.” (xvi. 18-21.)

Here is his Daysman, no longer in fancy but in full assurance; Job has a representative on high.

But that equally obtrusive fact of death recurs: here he stands, with an Advocate in heaven, but with his life's plans broken off and the eternal darkness at hand.

“If I have any hope, the grave is my house;  
I have spread out my bed in the darkness;  
To corruption I have said, ‘My father thou!’  
‘My mother and my sister!’ — to the worm.  
And where is now my hope?  
Yea, my hope — who shall discover it?  
Will the bars of Sheol fall down,  
When together there is rest in the dust?” (xvii. 13-16.)

Here he pauses while Bildad speaks; and then, with the recurring thought of God's enmity comes upon him the crushing thought that his soul is alone, alone in the ruins of a life; friends, brethren, wife, kinsfolk, servants, all have forsaken him. One despairing cry he sends forth, —

“Have pity on me, have pity on me, O ye my friends,  
For the hand of God hath touched me!” (xix. 21.)

and then all at once he breaks out into that avowal which for all the ages since has remained the supreme utterance of the Book of Job, which gathers into one mighty assurance the solution of all his problems, revealing in one view the Advocate, the vindication beyond death, God his friend, — and binding all together with the exultant word, *I know*.

“Oh that now my words were written!  
Oh that they were inscribed in a book!

That, with iron pen, and with lead,  
 They were graven in the rock, for ever !  
 I know that my Redeemer liveth ;  
 That he shall stand, survivor, over the dust ;  
 And after my skin is gone, they will rend this body,  
 And I, from my flesh, shall see God.  
 Whom I shall see, I, for myself ;  
 Whom mine eyes shall behold, a stranger no more.  
 For this my reins consume within me ! " (xix. 23-27.)

The struggle is over. From this point onward he no more inquires into God's mysterious enmity and remoteness, nor into the unsolved enigma of death. He has laid up these questions in that future where life's problems are all answered.

But there remains the present world, the world that we see ; and the friends in the meanwhile are saying about it things that demand reply. Let us return to them.

They are naturally enough angered at being treated as spiritually blind, and at having their wise maxims contemned. On their side, too, they regard Job's words, so daring in remonstrance, so importunate in inquiry, as exceedingly dangerous, irreverent, blasphemous. "Nay," says Eliphaz, —

"Nay, and thou bringest piety to nought,  
 And lessenest devotion before God ;  
 For thine iniquity teacheth thy mouth,  
 And thou chooseth the tongue of the crafty.  
 Thine own mouth condemneth thee, and not I ;  
 And thy lips testify against thee." (xv. 4-6.)

Their anger against Job, together with their reactionary impulse to put their arguments in the directest contrast to him, leads them into intemperate, unconsidered language. However his piety may seem to be veering to its fall, *they* will declare against wickedness so that none can misunderstand or misinterpret their position with reference to it. In the lurid pictures that all in turn give of the awful fate of the wicked (see chaps. xv. 20-35 ; xviii. 5-21 ; xx. 4-29), I think it is the author's intention to make them overreach themselves by committing themselves to statements that, though not without a nucleus of truth, are so overdrawn as to be grotesquely untrue to observed facts.

As in his first answer to them, Job waits till all have spoken, till he has drawn their fire, so to speak ; then he turns upon them. Not in anger, — the problem is too awful for that, — but in shuddering amazement, Job portrays to his friends what he and they cannot but see, if they will be honest with themselves and the world : the wicked prospering, becoming old, and dying in peace,

apparently just as secure as the righteous. Nor does he own this because he inclines to their ways, —

“Behold, not in *their* hand is their weal ;

The counsel of the wicked — be it far from me !” — (xxi. 16.)

it is mere honesty to facts that compels the confession. The friends have let their imagination riot in terrific descriptions of the death of the wicked, and of the perpetual fear that paralyzes their lives, in contrast to the tranquility of the righteous ; but to Job it is the absolute *equality* of righteous and wicked before God, so far as this life reveals, that is so inexplicable : —

“Shall any teach knowledge unto God, —

Him — who judgeth them that are high ?

One dieth in the fullness of his strength,

All at ease and quiet, —

His vessels full of milk,

And the marrow of his bones well moistened ;

And another dieth with a bitter soul,

And hath never tasted of good.

Together they lie down, in the dust,

And the worm spreadeth a covering over them.” (xxi. 22-26.)

This is his answer to them, in which he shows them how entirely a figment of the mind is their theory. So strongly has the view seized upon his soul, that, stopping for only a partial answer to Eliphaz's third speech, he goes on to give (chap. xxiv.), in calmer mood, a detailed picture of the world apparently void of divine judgment, —

“Why are not judgment times determined by the Almighty ?

And they that know Him — why see they not His days ?” (xxiv. 1.)

and filled with a perfect impunity of lawless wickedness, — a picture whose truthfulness he seals with a challenge, —

“If it be not so, who then will prove me false,

And make my words come to nought ?” (xxiv. 25.)

Once more, however, Eliphaz returns to the charge with a kind of Parthian shot, in which, accusing Job directly of various sins such as are natural to his eminent position in life, and of cherishing too fondly the ways of wicked men, he concludes with a beautiful exhortation to Job to remove iniquity from his tents and reconcile himself to God. This exhortation we may regard as the final appeal of the friends, as they see Job drifted so far from them ; nor does it go unanswered. To the charge of sin Job replies later ; but this exhortation elicits an immediate answer, in which he gives utterance once for all to his attitude before God : —

"Oh that I knew where I might find Him! —  
 Might come even unto His dwelling-place!  
 I would set in order my cause before Him;  
 And I would fill my mouth with arguments.  
 I would know the words He would answer me;  
 And I would mark what He would say unto me.  
 Would He plead against me in the greatness of His might?  
 Nay; but surely He would give heed unto me.  
 There it would be an upright man pleading with Him,  
 And I should be delivered for ever from my Judge." (xxiii. 3-7.)

The calm height to which his faith has led him is suggestively shown in the way he confronts again that old problem, once so disturbing, of God's hidden face and refusal to be found. Now it hardly moves him, while he can say —

"For He knoweth the way that is mine;  
 He is trying me; I shall come forth as gold." (xxiii. 10.)

The lesson of the disciplinary value of God's chastisements is generally regarded as Elihu's contribution to the question: does Elihu reach a point higher than this?

I called Eliphaz's exhortation the friends' final appeal. Bildad indeed speaks once more; but what he says is a virtual confession of defeat. His few words are a feeble echo of Eliphaz's favorite doctrine of man's innate depravity, the doctrine that dies hardest, so to say; but so manifestly aside from the present case that Job ridicules them, and then in turn carries on the same strain at some length (xxvi. 5-14), as if to show how easy it is to compose sublime — yet inapplicable — descriptions of God's power. To take this view of this passage need not belittle the utterances of either Job or Bildad, which as matter of fact are true and beautiful; it merely reveals by a striking illustration how entirely the friends have mistaken the issue.

Zophar fails to appear the third time. Is he needed? Have we not reached the friends' natural stopping-place?

Job is left alone and victorious. What now remains? He has committed life and destiny to the issue of righteousness; he has made triumphant discoveries in the world above and beyond; he has gazed unflinchingly into this present evil world, and blinked none of its evils. What has he yet to do? Evidently to fit himself, so to speak, into the sum of things, to find by that same creative faith the road through this life, where so often wickedness gets the pay and goodness the oppression. It is to this task, this sober survey of a perplexing world, that Job now addresses himself.

He begins with a solemn asseveration of his mental and spiritual soundness, by which he is able to see things as they are; and anew he commits himself unalterably to righteousness:—

“As God liveth, who hath taken away my right,  
And the Almighty, who hath embittered my soul, —  
For yet whole is my breath within me,  
And the spirit of God in my nostril, —  
So surely my lips speak not perverseness,  
Nor doth my tongue murmur deceit.  
Far be it from me that I should justify you;  
Till my breath is gone will I not let depart my integrity from me.  
My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go;  
My heart shall not reproach one of my days.” (xxvii. 2-6.)

In such a survey of the world, the first thing that calls for solution is the problem of the wicked, who are so secure in this life, and who at the end, in a ripened old age, are gathered in like all others. It would be strange, after all the assertions and denials, from him and the friends, if he should leave them without a final word. Nor does he. Here, then, is the truth about them. The wicked, after all, *have not the future*; their life, not being founded on the truth of things, cannot count on hope or permanence. They are not anchored to God; all is precarious, unsafe.

“Be my enemy as the wicked man,  
And he that riseth against me as the unrighteous.  
For what is the hope of the wicked, when God cutteth off, —  
When God draweth forth his soul?  
Will God hear his cry,  
When distress cometh upon him?  
Doth he delight himself in the Almighty?  
Doth he call upon God at every time?” (xxvii. 7-10.)

The picture that Job then draws of the wicked, which some have tried to give to Zophar, merely follows this view into detail; not unlike Bildad's first speech, of which Job has already said, “Of a truth I know it is so.” The friends had a nucleus of truth, only they did not square it with facts; Job has found the key of things, and he follows it out by the standard of the unseen and eternal.

If then the security of the wicked is only a seeming, what is the reality? What is the true wisdom of life, by which we may walk calmly through the mystery that surrounds us, and solve it for ourselves, whatever the enigma of the world? Here comes in the twenty-eighth chapter. Is such a topic out of place, or must we call it an interpolation from the author's portfolio? Rather, it answers the question that most naturally arises here, and gives

the practical lesson in which the Book of Job culminates. The hidden wisdom, the way that no creature has found?—

"God understandeth the way thereto,  
And He knoweth its place.

And unto man He said,  
Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom,  
And to shun evil is understanding." (xxviii. 23, 28.)

Thus Job, the man perfect and upright, who feared God and shunned evil, has trusted in the integrity with which he began, until he has not only answered Satan's question of the beginning, but solved for every man the problem of life. They say Job was impatient. If patience means holding one consistent mind through a hard experience, and if patience has her perfect work in believing and enduring, *was* he so impatient?

Remains now (xxix.—xxxi.) Job's retrospect of his former life of prosperity and honor, so suddenly and inexplicably plunged into misery. It is with a real pang that we pass over those beautiful chapters without citation. In them he gathers up the threads of his life, one after another, for God and man to judge; and at the end, full of that overmastering desire for God's presence which has all along been his supreme impulsion, he stands ready for the communion that shall vindicate him and make him blessed:—

"Behold my sign! let the Almighty answer me!—  
And the charge that my Adversary hath written!  
Surely I will lift it upon my shoulder;  
I will bind it to me like a crown;  
I will declare unto Him the number of my steps,  
And like a prince will I draw near to Him." (xxxi. 35–37.)

From the beginning he has drawn steadily nearer to God, until now with his final words he stands fully prepared for the veil to open and reveal Him.

But here intervene the discourses of Elihu, the *crux* of the poem. Let us see if there are considerations that tend to reconcile them to their place.

The issue between Job and his friends has not been the issue of goodness with wickedness. They have spoken as devout men, and in the interests of righteousness; nay, their fear for Job has been lest he should "lessen devotion before God." Elihu, too, comes as a vindicator of God and righteousness; and more severely than the others he judges Job as "adding outrage to his sin." It is surprising, as we read over the words of all of them,



how little we find that is wrong, in the abstract; and a thankless task it must be, to which some have set themselves, to determine the exact amount of inspiration that is to be attributed to Eliphaz and the rest. They are all righteous men; their anger but the *odium theologicum*.

But what is the goal of righteousness? The goal of Job's righteousness has been evident throughout, "Oh that I knew where I might find Him!" and beginning with his despairing wish for a Daysman, his conquering faith has kept on until he knew that somewhere beyond this life he would see God as his friend. The whole determination of his life is toward God. But many set a goal less high than that, — the goal of prosperity, peace, happiness, discipline, manhood; worthy reasons for being righteous, but not the worthiest. Such serve the divine name, the divine tradition; but they have no hunger for direct communion; so far as that is concerned they are perfectly content with Teufelsdröckh's "absentee God, sitting at the outside of his universe and seeing it go." And in fact, their righteousness, unguarded by such communion, may become, as we have seen, a highly refined species of thrift, the sublimated essence of what Satan sneered at in the beginning. I think Elihu, as also the other friends, represents this class; Elihu their spokesman, saying their best word.

He is a young man of zeal and insight; he has a vigorous, constructive mind; many of his words are truly noble. He regards himself as supplying just what Job has desired; and indeed he sets up definitively for Job's daysman: —

"Behold, I, according to thy word, stand for God;  
Out of clay am I moulded, also I.  
Behold, *my* terror shall not unman thee,  
Nor will my burden upon thee be heavy." (xxxiii. 6, 7.)

Compare this with chapter ix. 32-35, and it is evident what he has in mind. His idea of a daysman is a wise interpreter of life, a מְלִיצָה מְלִיצָה, not necessarily supernatural, but "one of a thousand," exceptionally gifted, and authorized by his gifts to speak, — in short, such a one as he himself feels inspired to be. So he speaks for God, the Perfect in knowledge, as he calls Him, and identifies his message with God's word. And indeed he says many helpful things: directs Job especially to the secondary revelations of God, — by dream, by vision, by the chastisement of suffering, — and seeks thus to lead Job to repentance and devout submission. In all this, however, observe that the goal he contemplates is merely restoration, enlightenment, health, discipline.

He is merely directing Job, in a little more minute terms than the others have used, to take proper measures for reinstatement in God's favor; he is identified with the friends, after all, representing the best statement of their case. And what he says, noble though it is, is what consists with a merely conventional faith and a traditional God; it is content to have God's face veiled, to follow Him remotely.

Now I think it is the author's intention, in the persons of Elihu and Job, to bring these two classes, who have been the antagonists throughout the poem, to the test of God's immediate presence. The way they meet that ordeal will show, through a reverent awe and joy, who has the real determination of heart toward God, and through a shrinking terror, who is at heart selfish and would be left alone.

Elihu continues his discourse, eloquently defending the Perfect in knowledge, until across the desert they see a storm rising. With great beauty he begins to descant on this, and so long as it is an ordinary storm he employs it, with no little assumption of wisdom, to Job's edification. But as it nears, its phenomena become so exceptional that his experience can no longer account for it: it seems to betoken that God is indeed coming, according to Job's desire. Whereat his words become confused; he begins to retract his pretensions, stammers an attempt at conciliation, and breaks off abruptly, paralyzed by terror.

"Give ear unto this, O Job;  
Stand, and ponder the marvelous things of God.  
Knowest thou how God layeth command upon them,  
And maketh shine forth the light of His cloud?  
Knowest thou the poisonings of the thick cloud,—  
The wonders of the Perfect in knowledge?—  
Thou whose garments are hot,  
Because from the south the earth lieth sultry still,—  
Canst thou spread out with Him the skies,  
Firm, as a molten mirror?  
... O teach us what we may say to Him!  
We cannot order it—it groweth so dark...  
Hath one told Him that I am speaking?...  
Or hath a man said... for he shall be swallowed up!  
...  
And now they no longer see the light,—  
That splendor in the clouds,  
For a wind hath passed, and scattered them.  
... From the north a golden glory cometh...  
Oh, with God is terrible majesty!  
The Almighty—we have not found Him out;

Vast in power, and in judgment, and in abundance of righteousness ; —  
He will not afflict ;  
Therefore do men fear Him ;  
He regardeth not any wise in their own conceit." (xxxvii. 14-24.)

Thus the self-appointed daysman shrinks away before the test ; and we hear no more from him. A humiliating retreat, for one who set out so valiantly to defend God.<sup>1</sup>

The opening words from the whirlwind dismiss Elihu abruptly, —

"Who is this — darkening counsel  
With words, — but without knowledge?" (xxxviii. 2.)

Then the Lord addresses Job, —

"Gird up thy loins now, like a strong man,  
And I will ask thee ; and inform me thou." (xxxviii. 3.)

The dread Presence is here, whose coming Job has so fervently besought. Job stands at last before Him who seemed so far off, yet to whom in all darkness Job's spirit turned, as the needle to the pole. What now shall the divine revelation be ?

Not what Job expected ; not perhaps what our curiosity seeks. We look for the veil to uproll and disclose mysteries beyond human research ; Job expects a hearing and a judgment. And what is it ? Just the unending miracle that passes before our eyes every day. In the heavens above, in the earth beneath, in the great events of creation and phenomena of nature, in the myriad life that fills land and air and ocean, we are made to see that there is Wisdom and Power sufficient for everything, to make every creature fulfill its part in one infinite purpose and will. No esoteric disclosure for some exceptionally favored disciple, but what every one may lift up his eyes and see. No apologies for mysterious dealings, nor little systems of men corrected, but the perpetual self-justifying course of a harmonious universe. Is it not sublimer so ?

Job hears, and makes his own application. He had stood ready, like a prince, bearing the record of his righteous life on his shoulder. But what seemed his worth, when he had only his friends to compare with, seems in the infinite light very small. When the Lord pauses for his answer, he has no word to say. No claim more of merit and a triumphant cause ; all has melted away in reverence and humility, being absorbed in the one consciousness that God is no more a hearsay, but a seen reality.

<sup>1</sup> If readers will recognize the truth under the somewhat grotesque illustration, they will find this passage finely paralleled in the close of Browning's "Caliban upon Setebos."

"I had heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear,  
 But now mine eye seeth Thee;  
 Wherefore I loathe me and repent,  
 In dust and ashes." (xlii. 5, 6.)

Thus Job meets the test with worship, takes his place, so to say, with submission and self-abnegation, in the sum of God's creatures. This is his vindication: to go on, with enlightened eyes and chastened spirit. It is altogether in keeping that in this vision, so long sought, self is lost, and reverent, trustful, penitent love abides.

Then comes the end: Job is commended; he prays for his friends, who are forgiven at his intercession; he is restored to health and double prosperity. The friends were righteous for the sake of worldly good; Job was righteous for the sake of God. At the end of his long quest he found God, and worldly good too; the greater brought with it the less. Some think his restoration is an artistic blemish; that it would have been a nobler ending if he had been left suffering. It would be a blemish if this paltry reward were the end which Job sought, and for which the poem existed. But the quest has already reached its supreme end in the vision of God; this is merely its incidental addition. And at least the old poet has put God and prosperity in the right relative places, in curious anticipation of the precept, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."

Thus I have traced what seems to me a homogeneous epic action, with its story of trials bravely endured, and of victories with weapons greater than carnal. To me this view of the Book of Job seems to give for each element a better artistic reason than does the theory that the book exists in order to debate and decide the question why the righteous suffer; for it answers this question, and others too, not by human controversy and logic, but in terms of an upright, straight-seeing, faith-inspired life.

*John F. Genung.*

AMHERST COLLEGE, AMHERST, MASS.

## CULTURE, CREED, AND CHRISTIANITY.

MEN while attempting to gain their own ends are really accomplishing nature's. Thus the perpetuity of the race has been confided to the gratification of passion, and man eats to please his appetite, while nature makes use of his food for his own sustenance. These twin motives, the meretricious and genuine, man's and nature's, appear in every phase of human thought and action. Wealth and fame and power are the wisps of hay which attract the human donkey, and induce him to draw his load. Though he knows it not, he is doing nature's work, for nature is the silent partner of each one of us. The true man accepts this partnership, and strives to reject the trivial and incidental for the cardinal and essential, and to adopt nature's motives as his own. All morality consists in so doing, and hence in morals we must look to motive. In this way we can eat and drink to the glory of God. This is not mere negative morality. It needs no "Thou shalt not," but rejoices in its "I will." The ideal man is he who has ascertained and undertaken his proper part in nature's work. His prayer is, "Thy will be done, in me and through me; nay, by me as a voluntary, enlightened agent." This is more than morality; it is religion; for when we drop the term "nature," and turn to God, we leave the moral for the religious sphere.

The apostles of culture recognize some such conception of the ideal man, and set us the task of attaining it by our own intellectual efforts. They tell us that we must see things as they are, discover an intelligible law in them, and perfect ourselves. The weak point in such advice is, that it presupposes an ability in acquiring knowledge which we do not possess. It does not take into account the limitations of the human mind.

The mistake of believing that we can have any success in making ourselves perfect is, indeed, a noble one. It is born of the natural aspirations of mankind. There is something of the God-likeness in every man. There is a potentiality in his thinking powers which suggests perfection. We have never seen the ideal man, and yet he is so constantly before our mind's eye, that when we say "manhood," we mean his manhood and not ours. There are ideal trees and flowers, lakes and mountains, birds and beasts in profusion. They fulfill their destiny. Man alone is incomplete, but he, too, seems to promise completeness. Let an engineer see a few stones forming a portion of a great work and

resting on a massive foundation. Hide all the rest in densest fog. He will tell you that they constitute the beginning of an arch of such length and strength and durability; and so the philosopher viewing man's mind, imperfect as it is, can confidently assert that this is part of a soul whose span is infinite and eternal.

But while man suggests perfection he is not perfect, nor can he make himself so. Before he can ascertain his place in nature's work, he must see things as they are, and this transcends the intellect, and lies beyond the range of culture. If we but had the eyes, the smallest outlook could show us all things. A single grain of sand is affected by all the forces of the physical universe, and it would be possible to know the whole cosmos from this particle of matter. In the same way you could, if you had the wisdom, construct the entire spiritual world from that particle of spirit, your own soul. The prophet reads the book of nature as we cannot, but it is spread before us all, and revelation is only an unveiling.

The endeavor to pierce the veil by sharpening and then using our faculties is a manly exercise, but it must fail in the end. Try it, if you will. Acquaint yourself with the best thoughts, ancient and modern. Meditate upon them in solitude. Retire back into yourself, — into your secret connections with the unseen world, — into your consciousness, and obtain, if you can, some slight glimpse of the universe as it is; as men go down wells to see the stars in the daytime, — or as a connoisseur moves backward to look at a picture. Most minds, indeed, gain some insight in such efforts, although they may not know it. The true teacher and poet proves to us that we have great thoughts in us. The finest passages of any writer are those which make you lay down the book and say, "Yes, this is true and grand, but till now unspoken. It has lain unknown in my mind for years." The man of genius tells you little that is new. He merely shows you yourself. He comes to your mind as a wizard to your old homestead, with the enchanter's wand which points to hidden treasure. He strikes the ground in the familiar garden. He says, "Here is gold; dig here," and you dig, and he digs for you, and you find an exhaustless mine. Your mind has untold wealth in it.

But at the very moment of such a discovery the intellect cannot but feel its weakness. The pleasure of a fine thought rises above the realm of logic. We can reach a short distance into the mysteries of nature around us, but as our sphere of knowledge grows, the surface of the unknown must of necessity increase. The old



questions regarding the origin of evil, of disease, of life, are still unanswerable. The problems of political economy are as far from solution as ever. We cannot even adjust the ordinary machinery of society. It is like a reversible engine. It can go well on the principle of selfishness. Turn the wheels backward, and it can go well on the principle of love. It is the mixture of the two principles that makes our system so irregular, some wheels whirling this way and some that. The simplest of these difficulties leads the human mind beyond its depth, and how can it presume to discover nature's laws, find its own proper province and end, and actually set about the work of making itself perfect? Man's nearest approach to seeing things as they really are is the recognition, in awe and wonder, of a mystery around him which he cannot fathom.

The true connection between this mystery and man himself lies in religion, and can be supplied by nothing else. It is partly the fault of some of our religious teachers that many a man of undoubted talent and sincerity has deserted their standard for that of culture. They insist upon belief in such a mass of historical details, that honest men of a skeptical turn of mind often find themselves unable to assent, and are driven to seek consolation elsewhere. The feeling that we are not in harmony with the divine law, — the wish and effort to become so, — with a full sense of our own helplessness, and with confidence in the readiness of help, — are not these the true essentials of religion, of which love and worship are the natural outgrowth? This feeling, and this wish and effort, — call them sense of sin and repentance and conversion, if you will, — are independent of the intellect, and have nothing to do with creed or theology. The doctrine that intellectual belief in historical facts is a condition precedent of religion ignores the very nature of human reason. The mind of man cannot be forced to believe. It doubts in proportion to the importance to it of the subject-matter. If you are told that an unexpected fortune has been left to John Doe, you believe it at once; but if you hear that such a fortune has fallen to you, you will doubt it until you have proof. It will be "too good to be true." Tell a man that his eternal salvation depends on his believing this or that portion of history, and that very fact will make the belief difficult, if not impossible. A "saving faith" has to do solely with the present. It concerns itself with the past only in so far as the past is embodied in the present. If we appreciate our own condition, and what God is to us, the question as to how we at-



tained such relations ceases to be vital. The first step in religion is not to be taken by the intellect. True Christianity is based on the attitude of the soul, and not upon its idea of the probable.

The disregard of this truth has made possible the ordinary works on "Evidences of Christianity," which have done far more harm than good. They are, as Coleridge says, "mischievous underminings of the Faith, pleadings fitter for an Old Bailey thieves' counselor than for a Christian divine." The real evidences appeal to the heart and not to the head. How does a man learn that he has loving parents? Does he begin by examining their marriage certificate, and then seek to certify his birth and parentage by testimony? Would such a verification be scientifically accurate? Might it not suggest difficulties and doubts? Would a belief founded on such a demonstration be worth having? Our relations to our parents and to God rest not in our beliefs, but in our affections. The yearning of a motherless child more truly deserves the name of love than the careless accustomed recognition of its mother by a child who has never been separated from her, and there may be more religion in the agonized longing of a man whose intellect can find no relief for his soul than in the conventional orthodoxy of a lukewarm believer.

"There lives more faith in honest doubt,  
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

That the articles and creeds of the church have been of great service must be admitted. Almost every sentence in them represents victory over error. But the time is passing away in which men can indulge the delusive hope of comprehending all the mysteries of eternity. Human language, which can give no idea of the smell of a violet, must fail in describing the infinite. All verbal statements of transcendent matters must be feeble approximations and are not to be regarded as absolute dogmas. Our ideas on these subjects are bound to change for the better as we continue to learn. The old conception of the Deity, for instance, as an anthropomorphic being, ruling the world from without, will soon be obsolete. We are still too apt to think of God's acts as if they were our own. So in material affairs, we depend on preëxistent forces, as we call them. I wind up a clock, and then leave it alone, and rely upon the force of gravitation to draw the weight down and move the hands. But God cannot depend on any force but himself. He could not wind up the universe and then desert it. If He should neglect it at any point, at that point it would come to a standstill. There can be no persistence of force with-

out Him. Every blade of grass that springs from the ground He must send there specially. Every drop of water on its way to the sea has its own particular command to obey. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father." The grand machinery of worlds running with such regularity must needs be carried on by a system of constant interposition everywhere. There are no such things as laws of nature, but we see instead the workings of the laws of God's never-changing mind. It is, perhaps, not altogether a figure of speech to say that the universe is organic and its life is God's.

While our intellectual conceptions may be changing in this way, the true evidence of Christianity, as we have said, is in the heart. The honest inquirer finds that it meets his wants. Coleridge gave the best reason for accepting the truths of the Scriptures, when he said: "In the Bible there is more that *finds* me than I have experienced in all other books put together; the words of the Bible find me at greater depths of my being, and whatever finds me brings irresistible evidence of its having proceeded from the Holy Spirit." It is this adaptation of Christianity to our needs which is its surest proof. There is a supply for every want in nature. Each creature has somewhere food for its hunger, drink for its thirst. The sexes are mated. All things have their proper environment. There must, then, be something to meet the highest aspirations of man. The soul is not doomed alone to seek and not to find. There must be forgiveness for the soul weighed down with the sense of sin, and there must be some Being able to forgive. Our intuitions are not the least reliable guides. The two facts of which we are perhaps the most certain are beyond proof and infinite, namely, the boundlessness of space, the endlessness of time. The sound soul is as confident of infinite love, and for the same reason, that aught else is inconceivable. The heart which feels this love will respond through the affections. Aroused by our affections we will naturally turn to historical research, and an historical belief, more or less extended, will follow. This we should strive to increase, for there is nothing glorious in ignorance or agnosticism. We must be careful, however, to seek only the truth, and that at any cost, in perfect confidence that it will be in harmony with the chords of our being. In the pursuit of truth a creed can sometimes assist us, but it should never hold us back; it may extend, but ought not to confine, our vision. A creed is knowledge, if it is anything, and knowledge cannot be helped or gained by shutting one's eyes.

Faith, having its foundations in the heart, is unassailable. It cannot be confused or confounded by scientific difficulties, because it is not the child of syllogism, but it often finds in science its confirmation. Even in the world of death around us we can see the signs of immortality. Science teaches us that matter is eternal. Its sum total to-day is the same as it always has been and will be. It has altered in nothing but form. Force, too, can never diminish. It may be transformed, but the same force has ever existed, and will never cease to exist. Every particle of the material world, every offshoot of physical power, is immortal. When we enter the sphere of life, does a less happy rule prevail? Will a thrifty nature which refuses to lose the smallest iota of energy or substance permit life to cease? We see dull, inert matter lending itself to the vital principle, pouring itself into the beautiful moulds of life all around us, and at last deserted and cast aside, but still existing, dust returned to dust. Life and matter, the warp and woof, have crossed each other. Surely, if the humbler thread has no end, the nobler will not be cut asunder. Nature is a standing evidence of immortality. To be sure, in all such speculations, we are confronted by the perplexing, appalling problem of the destiny of the brute creation; but, in seeking its solution, let us rather raise the brute than lower the man. The existence of dumb animals should fortify our belief in God; for the instinct of one being must be the reason of another.

Culture has no answer for the deepest questions of life. It sets before us the impossible task of perfecting ourselves, but it provides no consolation for failure. The preachers of culture overestimate their ability to improve at will. They have altogether too good an opinion of themselves, and their doctrine is too pretentious to prevail. Mankind will never adopt a system in which a sense of sin is supplanted by a sense of one's own importance and the kingdom of heaven by a mutual admiration society. It is only in the lower domain of intellect that we can benefit by culture, or hope to succeed, even partially, in perfecting ourselves. When questions of religion arise, we are in a higher region. We cannot, of ourselves, learn the mysteries of divine power. "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high; I cannot attain unto it." We should indeed give heed to Him who said, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect;" but He also showed the way; "If thou wilt be perfect, . . . come and follow me."

*Ernest H. Crosby.*

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RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ENGLAND — A STUDY  
OF THREE MEN.

WHAT is the condition of religious thought in England? This is not so easy to ascertain. Even John Morley, who is sufficiently inclined to give a sinister answer, seems to have misgivings whether "the battle is anything more than a tournament," whether the churches do not remain firm at their moorings. The apparent imminence of Disestablishment, of course, does not contradict such an assumption. Disestablishment, indeed, will in various ways work very disastrously for religion. Even the Reformation did that, although in the end, as the "Nation" well says, it has in England deepened even Catholic devotion, and exalted domestic morality, which it has delivered from the venality of the ecclesiastical courts. Those who oppose Disestablishment do so with excellent reason. They are not bound to invite a change which will shake and shock to their very foundation the national instincts and remembrances of thirteen centuries. The Anglican body has only too much of haughty and provoking exclusiveness. But after all deductions, it is still the greatest single force for good in the Christian world. And Mr. Brace bears witness, that it is precisely that High Church wing of the Church of England which it is the correct thing to hold up our hands at, that is most entirely possessed by the beneficence of Christ, that is plunging with a sacred passion of redemption into the homes of the poor. The Church of England deserves to remain national, for in her terms of communion she is as broad as the Church of Christ. Yet for that very reason she is the less dependent on Acts of Parliament. Let her enter more deeply into the way of unpretending brotherhood, as exemplified by the Convocation of Canterbury in the conduct of the Revision, and as beautifully expressed in the Scottish Bishop of St. Andrew's, and she may lead effectually in the work of devising other bulwarks against the inundation of secularism than the unwieldy system to which she is now tied.

I have mentioned Disestablishment, because the shock of it will doubtless at first confuse and depress the Christian forces of England. But Thought and Life are the only indispensable supports of the gospel, and neither is essentially dependent on the continuance of secular acknowledgment, especially in an antiquated form. They are quite competent to reconquer this in a better sense. I shall therefore venture some remarks on present religious Thought

in England, as illustrated especially by three men, all of whom have been representatives of what, in a certain sense, may be called the party of mediation. Many Englishmen have embraced some form of Catholicism, and have turned it to noble effect. Many, of course, remain within the boundaries of Evangelicalism. Many avow themselves distinctly and permanently alienated from Christianity. But these three men, namely, Richard Holt Hutton, Frederic William Henry Myers, and Matthew Arnold, all of them full partakers in the culture and the science of the age, no one of them a Roman Catholic or an Anglo-Catholic or an Evangelical, agree at least in this, that the three desire the continued supremacy of Christianity as an historic form, and the two survivors as a continuous force.

Of these three I have principally the first in mind, and the other two mainly as viewed through his eyes. My remarks, it is understood, are "impressionist," in no way affecting exhaustiveness, desultory, and assuredly not adventuring themselves into any presumptuous comparison with the exquisite paper on Myers which we have lately enjoyed in the REVIEW.

Richard Holt Hutton, the editor of the "Spectator," was originally a Unitarian. This, however, is an ambiguous statement. Unitarianism lies across the boundary line of Christianity like a town which lies across the boundary line of two nations. Two men may be fellow-Unitarians who, doctrinally, are not fellow-Christians. As I understand Hutton's allusions to his Unitarian days, he has always been definitively within the Christian line. And from that he seems to have advanced to an acceptance of the Catholic theology by a simple evolution of thought, without even so much of a struggle as Maurice had. The naturalness of the transition is sufficiently attested by the entire cordiality of his references to his former colleagues, and by his full recognition of the value of Unitarianism in promoting tolerance of thought and in emphasizing the ethical side of Christianity against the excessive preponderance of its dogmatic and immediately devotional aspect. Having piloted this good work to a point at which its future effectiveness is assured, Christian Unitarianism seems to be recognizing its own religious and philosophical insufficiency, and inclining to remerge itself into the general body of the Church Catholic.

Hutton's acceptance of the historical theology of the church is not by way of accommodation, but is genuine and complete. And, as the "Nation" says, it is far more effective in these days because

it is the settled faith of an eminent layman. The clergy find it hard to disengage themselves from the grand but ponderous terminology of the past. Stanley, indeed, has been completely successful in this, but with the form, seems to have surrendered the substance too, with a facile cheerfulness which is rather astounding. Hutton, with no pretensions to Stanley's unique powers, as T. Mozley rightly calls them, or to the charm of his wonderfully beautiful character, has succeeded in combining a tolerance quite as broad as his with an unwavering maintenance of the great conquests of Christian thought.

Matthew Arnold, indeed, scorns to acknowledge Christianity as standing in any relation whatever to thought. He glories in his metaphysical incompetency, and if it is a matter of glorying, surely never was boast better founded. His father had the same disinclination to metaphysics, but towards the end of his life, as Stanley tells us, began to interest himself more deeply in the intellectual grounds of spiritual facts. But the son never lapsed out of his cheerful contempt of everything which did not happen to fit in with his own particular constitution, from an American accent to an œcumenical creed. His opinions run largely into the same form with his father's, but are injected with essentially different contents. There is the appearance of the salt, without its savor. The whole thing will never be better summed up than in what he was told by R. W. Dale, as quoted by Mr. Joseph Cook, that his father believed in the personal God, and therefore wrought mighty things, and that he did not believe in the personal God, and therefore has not wrought mighty things. In other words, his father believed in God, and he did not. Where the foundations are not concerned, much of his religious work, even constructively, is certainly very fine and solid. And nobody can criticise with more crushing effect the tendency of that mysterious entity called "the Aryan genius" to lord it, in the things of God, over that other mysterious entity, called "the Semitic genius," or "the Hebrew genius," its tendency to swallow up the Hebrew passion of immediate realization, and inward experience, in a desert of intellectual theorizings. But he will not be brought to see, that if Christianity really has that claim to universal acceptance which he seems sometimes not disinclined to concede, it must possess the capacity of remaining practical and becoming theoretical, of assimilating the Aryan no less than of expressing the Hebrew genius. If conduct is incapable of being transmuted into thought, and thought into conduct, then Man is not a unity,



and cannot become a unity, and the races of men are kept apart in that hopeless particularism which Celsus scornfully reproaches Christianity with entertaining the chimerical hope of being able to overcome. Indeed, Matthew Arnold may not inaptly be likened to a modern Celsus, as Principal Fairbairn likens him to a modern Lucian. Celsus, in his age, very naturally contemned Christianity, but in our age, after it has proved its magnificent might, and has laid hold of our earliest and tenderest remembrances, it is equally natural that he should seek to come to terms of composition with it. Indeed, as Myers has just said, Arnold should not be viewed as a minimizing Christian, but as a maximizing Stoic. He tries strenuously, almost heroically, to carry over into the camp of the gospel of renunciation the prestige and sanctions of the gospel of immortal hope. And the result is well described by Hutton as flip-pant and frigid in the highest degree.

Hutton discerns the whole nature of the present controversy in Christendom with an unwavering apprehension, and describes it as exactly what it is, namely, Paganism reviving with new strength on a basis of conviction, "Paganism armored in intellectual certainties." The older Paganism was mainly instinctive and traditional; the modern Paganism is intensely determined, after long defeat, to win a final victory, and has therefore settled itself into an attitude of inexpugnable Will, supported by thoroughly digested Thought. Its present form is Naturalism, denying the existence of all intelligences beyond Man, and making his mind merely an interaction of atoms. But this, though probably the more congruous with it, is not absolutely essential to it. Already some have come to acknowledge continued existence after death, remaining stubbornly atheistic. Indeed, there are and can be but two fundamental schemes of the universe: that according to which all being is simply the Universe itself, undifferentiated or differentiated, in systole or diastole; and that according to which the Universe is the expression of Reason working freely and consciously as Will. The universe may be conceived as life, or as atoms and force, that is, may be conceived pantheistically, or atheistically, and this difference is of vast importance. But wherever Nature is made ultimate, we have Paganism, and wherever God is ultimate and Nature is the expression of his free determination, we have the opposite of Paganism. The Earl of Beaconsfield was no great thinker, but he was a penetrating observer. And in "Lothair" he has rightly described as the implacable foe of the church, not mere irreligion, which has not dignity or con-



sistence enough to be the implacable foe of anything, but the unwavering devotion of grave and deep-minded men to *La Madre Natura*. Allow, with Mivart, that it is probable, indeed certain, that ultimately this passionate worship of Nature will, with many, express itself in libidinousness and cruelty, will revive the solemn service of Moloch and Mylitta, still we do not suppose that animal instinct in any form is at the bottom of it, but an intellectual self-committal to a definite theory of the universe. This is not to deny the truth of Swedenborg's rather outlandish formula, that "the beliefs of men are as their loves." This oracle, translated into English, seems to mean, that at the ground of intellectual divergences lies repulsion from or attraction to the living God. Between this and conduct comes Thought. Conduct, therefore, may well be three fourths of life, or nine tenths, or ninety-nine hundredths; but conduct is only the outer face of thought, and thought is the expression of the essential man, as loving or hating to think that above him there is a Reason and Will in which he is to find the realization and rectification of his own. Both Hutton and Myers fully perceive that the whole result on character and aim is fundamentally different according as God is apprehended as the end of our being, or as merely a subservient stream of tendency, a current available to turn the millwheel for us, or in us.

Hutton points out the biographical explanation of Arnold's peculiar position, as resting on the fact that he went to Oxford too late to be drawn into the movement of Catholicizing faith, and too early to share in the growing perception that Natural Law is, indeed, a deep and wide reality in the universe, but by no means its exhaustive explanation or final ground. Indeed, the new notion of Variability is so at issue with the old stiffness of the notion of Law, that we may question whether the two would not devour each other, if the Church did not hold steady the balance by affirming that Ultimate Reason whose thoughts are immutable and the execution of them infinitely diversifiable. She herself, it is true, has inclined far too much to the former extreme, but "the deposit of faith," of which she is the custodian, though sometimes an awkward one, renders equally emphatic testimony to both. The Church ought to canonize Charles Darwin, notwithstanding his personal and hereditary inclination to atheism, as Max Müller shows us that she has canonized Buddha, for to this most illustrious man we mainly owe it that we are beginning to perceive that the Divine Immutability is not the changelessness of stone, but an infinite flexibility. This may well

outweigh all the temporary devastations wrought by his particular theories. The Church has never been able before this to vindicate her own fundamental doctrine of an all-pervasive providence, applicable to every individual need, without assuming a perpetual series of impulsive intrusions through an iron framework of things, which they were liable at every moment to put hopelessly out of repair. But whatever may, in the end, be settled as Darwin's abstract rank in the world of knowledge, he has reversed, and confirmed in reversing, the work of Newton, by fastening in the universal mind the intelligence that infinite pliability is only the other face of infinite immutability. There is a deeper logic in each position than at first appears.

Matthew Arnold, however, received his determining intellectual influences at a time when Science yet wore her old face, the look of stony, unmeaning helplessness. And, as Hutton suggests, it never seemed to enter his mind that the *Zeitgeist* of his earlier days was not the *Ewigkeitsgeist*. Indeed, his whole tone implies that many prophets and righteous men had vainly longed for the consummation of good in the advent of that particular *Zeitgeist*, and that alone, of which Matthew Arnold was the apostle. The attitude of a prophet, without the inspiration of a prophet, has a curious effect. And Matthew Arnold, in his prose, tries to expound his gospel to a gainsaying generation, with an air which variously suggests the conscious dux, the eminent schoolmaster, and the great critic, but certainly never the prophet, and seldom, if ever, the inspired interpreter of a prophet's word. As to his poetry, Mr. Hutton remarks that it often shows the buoyancy of hope, behind assumptions which give no warrant for it, suggesting whether there is not that in the man which is not in the words. And, indeed, even his prose sometimes suggests this. He went from a home which was not only, as Carlyle has described it, "a temple of industrious peace," but of deep faith and Christian love. He found a view of the universe beginning to prevail which lay right athwart this. An eager confidence of ability to set every crooked thing straight was perhaps rather excessive even in his illustrious father, and certainly had not lost strength in the son. He plunged thoughtlessly, as Dr. Noah Porter says, into negotiations to which he hardly had a call. The result, intellectually, was total surrender on his part. But he never gave up himself, or his practical treatment of life, to his new creed, in any such measure as Mr. Hutton shows that George Eliot did.

The paper of Frederic Myers on George Eliot is, of course,

widely different from that of Mr. Hutton, as coming from an intimate friend. But they both give us the same woman: the Sibyl, who has come to denounce God as unthinkable, Immortality as unbelievable, and who presents Duty alone as having the full worth of the original three. Mr. Hutton does not, nor indeed does Mr. Myers, go to work to remark upon this great woman in the way of modern enlightenment. It would be hard to name any critic in our language who, with a freer charity, has firmer canons. Whether it is George Eliot, Shelley, Carlyle, Goethe, or any one else, Hutton does not assume that with these great personages, even the greatest one, it is his first business to give himself over into the keeping of his author, humbly glad if, as he is taking leave, the Olympian One shall condescend to restore to him some rags of faith and tatters of morality, for further use. There is one advantage in a confirmed fellowship of faith with Jesus Christ: it enables a man to look in the faces of many monarchs of thought, male and female, "and not be afraid above measure." Great is George Eliot, great is Carlyle, greater is Shelley, and far greater than all is Goethe. But "he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than these." The eternal verities have not been moved from their bases, and will not be.

Mr. Hutton remarks of George Eliot, that her substitution of duty as ultimate, for duty as given and regulated by the benignant strictness of a Divine Judge, at once filled her with a self-tormenting uneasiness, and yet left her free, on occasion, as being, after all, her own ultimate instance, to dispense herself from its settled obligations with an extraordinary facility. Indeed, Mr. Hutton, with a most delicate and cheerful sympathy with every excellence of every character, has an obstinate simplicity in describing things as they are, which must often be irritating to those who want to be persuaded, and to persuade others, that the Feast of the Barmecide is perfectly capable of supplying to the spiritual nature all the strength and refreshment which it requires. "Can any one conceive a more artificial strain," he says, "than an endeavor to delight in 'the sunshine that will be' after we are dead? That seems to me a vain endeavor to make up for the void with which George Eliot has, in imagination, replaced God, by craning eagerly into an as yet non-existent universe, and blessing it in her own person. A fine nature, stripped of faith, will put itself through all sorts of painful gymnastic efforts in the attempt to supply to bereaved humanity the place of Him who is the same 'yesterday, to-day, and forever.'"

Mr. Hutton, after quoting passages from George Eliot's letters which justify the opinion that, "on the whole, she intended her work as an authoress to be expiatory of, or at least to do all that was possible to counterbalance, the effect of her own example," that is, "in forming what is euphemistically called her 'union' with Mr. Lewes," remarks: "But the woman who sets the example of dispensing with the legal tie in her own case, sets the example of entering upon relations which no good intentions on either side, nor even mere good intentions on both, can secure by giving to these relations the seriousness and permanence which George Eliot so justly valued. And yet it can hardly be said that she valued even seriousness and permanence *enough*, for in the letter which she wrote concerning Miss Brontë's 'Jane Eyre,' a letter written in 1848, years before her own deplorable course was taken, she assails Miss Brontë's heroine, as we understand it, for thinking it a needful self-sacrifice to abandon a man who could not marry her, only because his wife was living and a lunatic. 'All self-sacrifice,' she says, 'is good, but one would like it to be in a somewhat nobler cause than that of a diabolical law which chains a man body and soul to a putrefying carcass.' For putrefying carcass, read here an insane wife. There is clearly not the highest 'seriousness or permanence' about George Eliot's view of a relation which, in her opinion, ought to be dissolved by such a calamity as alienation of mind supervening on either side. The 'seriousness and permanence' which George Eliot claimed for the relation of marriage, and which she thought ought to be regarded as the moral equivalent, even where no legal tie was possible, were certainly not very profound, if she held a law to be 'diabolical' which does not dissolve the relation whenever the greatest of earthly calamities falls upon either of the parties."

Mr. Hutton, I perceive, has been reproached with believing in the reality and frequent suddenness of conversion, and yet thinking it necessary to remark upon the extreme suddenness of what may be called George Eliot's anticonversion. It is true he does not treat the two classes of facts as of equivalent value and moral rank. To seek God certainly requires less explanation, and has a higher moral value, than to shun God. Mr. Hutton is a highly cultivated and very enlightened man, as will easily be acknowledged. But he has not reached that serene indifference of æsthetic illumination of which Mr. Rose, in "The New Republic," is a type. He who rests in the centre, and finds no occasion to remove from the light and warmth of the Divine and Incarnate Presence, will,

of course, find it natural that other souls should seek the same. He will not find it equally natural that a soul, plainly not repelled by a love of evil, should hurry away from this presence. He is therefore well warranted in assuming that the previous perception of Divine things, in such a case, was shallow, for that otherwise it would not have given way so easily.

Mr. Myers has a somewhat different attitude towards the various aspects of unbelief. His mind, so to speak, dips and bows more easily to their representations. But he shows the firmness of his anchorage by never consenting to enter into any such negotiations as those which Matthew Arnold plumed himself on being so dexterous in managings. Myers allows to the full, and, as Mr. Hutton suggests, rather beyond the full, the force of the various arguments and discoveries which have given, for the time being, so overpowering a strength to Lucretian atomism. He allows, and, especially in his paper on Ernest Renan, extends before us, with all the large fullness of his beautiful style, the interminable intellectual horizon which has opened upon the modern age. He remarks on the strength of motive which there now is to accept a division of function between Contemplation and Action. He says: "For the universe in which man is placed so far transcends his power to grasp it — the destinies amidst which his future lies are so immense and so obscure — that the most diverse manners of bearing ourselves among them will, in turn, occupy our full sympathies, satisfy our changing ideal. Sometimes a life of action seems alone worthy of a man; we feel that we exist in vain unless we manage to leave some beneficent trace of our existence on the world around us; unless we enrich it with art, civilize it by education, extend it by discovery, pacify it with law. Sometimes, again, our relations to the Unseen will take possession of the soul; thought is lost in love, and emotion seems to find its natural outlet in spiritual aspiration and prayer. But there is a mood, again, in which all action, all emotion even, looks futile as the sport of a child; when it is enough to be a percipient atom swayed in the sea of things; when the one aim of the universe seems to be consciousness of itself and all that is to exist only that it may at last be known.

"There was a time when all these strains of feeling could coexist effectively in a single heart. Plato, 'the spectator of all time and of all existences,' was almost the centre of the religion of the world. And if this can rarely be so now, it is not necessarily or always that saints and philosophers, in themselves, are smaller

men, but that man's power of thought and emotion has not expanded in proportion to the vast increase of all that is to be felt and known. There has been a specialization of emotions as well as of studies and industries; it has become necessary that what is gained in extension should in some degree be lost in intensity, and that the wisdom that comprehends the world should cease to be compatible with the faith that overcomes it."

This reminds us of Matthew Arnold's comparison of Conduct with Science. Myers, however, does not regard a specialization which puts the Will at so wide a remove from the Mind as happy, still less as final. On the contrary, he looks forward to a time when all the accumulations of the latter shall be brought to reinforce the former; when all saints shall be philosophers, and all philosophers shall be saints. But for the present he gives to M. Renan's easy moral indifference an indulgence which it may be seriously questioned whether it deserves. If Renan's attitude were merely neutral, it would be different. But he is not that, even in his writing; and in his conversation, as reported by Brandes, is very far indeed from it. To Brandes he has denounced every form of belief in ultra-material reality as utterly fantastic. And he has sufficiently indicated his own mental and his own moral attitude, in describing the Franco-German war as only "an episode in the everlasting dream; a wrinkle on the brow of that infinity which produces us and absorbs us." It is hardly a necessity arising from an unbounded vision to settle down upon the wide universe, not as infinite in meaning, but as infinitely meaningless. Yet Renan deliberately chooses "the dream" as his image of universal being. It is of no use to say that a man can be exempted by breadth of knowledge from the moral responsibility of having chosen, out of all possible similitudes, that which implies that everything signifies nothing. The truth is, Ernest Renan seems to have a very definite theory of the universe, and a very definite moral attitude towards the Gospel, and one which is much farther from the possibility of reconciliation with it than serious-minded hostility would be. I suppose, moreover, it is as true of wide knowledge as of narrow, that the pure in heart shall see God. However, it is not these sides of Renan which Mr. Myers takes into account. But it is certainly stretching the application of terms rather far to count him among the "seekers after God." To pet the Son of God, and to trim him out in the colors of Parisian finery, and to patronize the very idea of God as a beneficent illusion, cannot well be regarded as a probable way



of finding God. Mr. Myers may well indicate this as "a gratuitous divergence into a realm which is beyond his mastery."

Myers and Hutton agree in treating as wholly futile all conception of the Gospel as a simple development, however providentially guided, of something which was in Man, and in the order of the world, from the beginning. As Myers says, the miracles of Christianity were from the beginning its very *raison d'être*. It cannot be conceived without them. The Saviour knows himself only as the Son of the Father, who has come into the world. This conception of himself just as thoroughly underlies the synoptics as John, and comes out with full distinctness in that closing parable which "they knew that he had spoken against them." Renan acknowledges the same in saying that Christ did not preach doctrines, but preached himself. The painfully artificial attempt of Matthew Arnold, so evidently *ab extra*, to explain away our Lord's plain consciousness of possessing a fullness of supramundane energy, only succeeds in exaggerating the fact, which no one denies, that Christ is reluctant to oppress the natural course of things on which his kingdom in this world must mainly rest. Arnold superciliously waives out of sight the cardinal declaration: If the mighty works which had been done in Capernaum, in Bethsaida, and Chorazin, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, nay, in Sodom itself, they would have humbled themselves in a penitence which would have averted their overthrow. His description of the apostles, those men of simple hearts and lovers of righteousness, as so greedily craving of wonders that they could not at all enter into their Master's weariness of such a temper in the people, may fairly be described as a ridiculous figment, perching on the narrowest ledge of fact. If there is anything certain, it is that the Saviour, and all his apostles, and all his disciples, knew the Gospel as bringing a communication of "the energies of the coming age," as being a true regenerating illapse from above upon the heart, and the mind, and the body, of them who received it.

Hutton declares the same with equal emphasis. He remarks that Darwinism is indeed not in itself antitheistic. Mivart says that Professor Huxley is immeasurably disgusted, and has issued against him a decree of scientific excommunication (whose validity, however, he denies) for having presumed to show that both the Fathers and the schoolmen account only the primary creation miraculous, and hold the development of living beings as merely a providentially ordered guidance of existing conditions. But, as Mr. Hutton says, the gospel cannot be made to mean anything,



unless it means Miracle. It is the *absolutum miraculum*, which consists in the redemptive manifestation, within the compass of humanity, of Him who has not been drawn down into this by any natural necessity, involved in the original forces of the world, but by the free condescension of personal Love. All disputes of theology are subordinate to this. A man may believe that the Nicene theology is the true exposition of this great fact, or may regard it as an aberration. Mr. Hutton is decidedly and emphatically, and in my judgment most warrantably, of the former mind. To him Nicæa and Constantinople and Ephesus and Chalcedon are great stations of progress, and not illusions beckoning into the waste. He would doubtless acknowledge that we are to go beyond them, but not that we are to go back from them into a fancied original simplicity which is really impoverishment. But there are those who reject the Nicene theology, and yet fully believe that in the Gospel we have "God manifest in the flesh." With all such Hutton would find himself in fundamental fellowship, and with no others. The doctrinal conception may be defective, where both the religious experience and even the intellectual apprehension are sound. And this central miracle cannot be understood except as surrounding itself with lesser miracles. The creative epoch, in Nature and Regeneration, will be set off from the long current of quiet development. Mr. Hutton utterly rejects, and Christianity must utterly reject any explanation of evolution which makes the higher to be contained in the lower, or to be explicable by it. He honors evolution as a thought which has at last come to abide, and attributes to it, as we shall presently see, an importance far greater than it has with those for whom it stops short in the material world. But he recognizes that those aspects of it which are now principally turned to view are not reconcilable, by any trick of thought, with the facts of the spiritual life, or with the postulates of evangelical faith.

Both Hutton and Myers have freed themselves entirely from the dryness of that virtual Deism to which Protestantism has largely committed itself. Catholicism bears emphatic testimony to the mighty force of that miraculous consciousness, or that consciousness of miracle, which brought Christianity into the world. But, like a cataract which leaps clear of the rock, it has never yet learned to flow quietly within the confines of a natural, friendly, regenerated human development. It emphasizes, exaggerates, artificially solicits, and, in its reluctance to part with them, too often simulates, the wonders of the creative beginning. The re-

pugnance of Protestantism to Miracle, except as a thing long past, shows what a desperate struggle it has had to work itself clear from a weird and oppressive supernaturalism into the kindly light of common day. But here, as in various other points, its theories are defensively negative to the point of weakness. It has a far greater body of filial confidence in God as a Father than Catholicism. But this is too precisely shut in. Protestantism is so manfully zealous against superstition that it has often wounded faith. This, however, has been of less account in the past. But now things are evidently working together for an epoch in which the present Christendom is to be related to the world as the Israel of Christ's day was related to the present Christendom. Another creative epoch is impending. Under the mantle of despair stir the obscure beginnings of a great hope,

"And kings sit still with awful eye,  
As if they surely knew their Sovereign Lord was by."

The attempt to tie up the forms and extent of this hope within the rigorous limits of a Protestantism so rational as to be really rationalistic, is like the attempt to suppress the waters of a spring. That which might have been a brook is degraded into a swamp. It is largely to the pressure of this "everlasting No" that we owe the spurious wonders of Mormonism and the degrading diabolism of the current Spiritism.

Of this truth both Mr. Hutton and Mr. Myers have a vivid sense. Hutton meets Matthew Arnold's flippant declaration, that the trouble with miracles is that they do not occur, with the scorn which it merits. His answer is simply this, that they do occur. The "Spectator" has given emphatic approbation to some of Mrs. Oliphant's noble and nobly Christian expositions, in imaginative form, of the truth that our world is no more isolated spiritually than physically. We live in an ocean of forces the lower fringes of which may be called natural. For as "Miracle on earth is Nature in heaven," so on the other hand much may be known as Miracle in heaven which is only apprehended as Nature on earth. But after the avowed Sadduceism of a godless science and the unavowed Sadduceism of a high and dry Orthodoxy have put their heads together to impound and put up to public view every stray specimen of illusion (which yet is sometimes illusion rather outwardly than interiorly), the magnificence of the Divine working still mocks religious and irreligious commonplace alike. As the beloved instructor of Fair Harvard in the things of God

has said, we shall some time learn that this universe is more than one story high.

In one respect Mr. Hutton occupies, as it appears to me, a more assured and central position than Mr. Myers: he does not attribute the same importance to a scientific demonstration of the life to come. He has, we judge, a sympathetic curiosity and interest as to all experiments and observations bearing in this direction. All facts are valuable, and assuredly this class of facts not least so. If it is God's will that experiment along the lines of physical research shall go beyond itself, and break through into a region hitherto inaccessible to this manner of verification, then doubtless the fullness of the time is arrived for this. Good will come of it — and harm. It will certainly give a rude blow to that rising Church of Materialism which James Martineau, I believe, has described as likely to inherit the haughtiness and intolerance of mediæval orthodoxy. It will set free many a depressed spiritual consciousness, and give it leave to wing its way through heaven to the bosom of the God of heaven. The early Church did not despise this class of facts, nor have they been without an incidental value to various great teachers of the later Church, of whom, perhaps, Wesley is chief. But, as Canon Mozley has admirably developed, the only Christian doctrine of the life to come is that which grows out of the essential relations of the human spirit to its God. Christ's own argument, for whose insufficiency Emil Schürer deems it necessary to offer a condescending apology, is, and remains, the central ground of Christian faith in eternal life. "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." "Because I live, ye shall live also." Immortality without God, without that God to whom we sustain true filial relations, is abhorrent to the Christian heart. And Buddhism stands as testimony that it presents to the human heart at large such an image of dismay as can only be removed by the promise of extinction. However glorious the world might be into which death should introduce such an intensity of orphanhood, there would be upon the shining foreheads that shadow of coming change which George MacDonald has seen in one of his pregnant dreams of such a world. Shelley's synod of transfigured spirits, in his *Revolt of Islam*, is meant to be glorious, but is really dreadful. The least that could be feared for a paradise without God is, as the "Spectator" says, that, in the dismal uncertainties of an unguided eternity, its inhabitants would settle into a gray and hopeless melancholy.

Nor is it at all sure that, as Frederic Myers makes one of his Frenchmen anticipate, a physical demonstration of continuance after death would reinvigorate the fading ideals of France, or of Europe. Certainly Islam shows the intensest faith in the life to come, which makes it only the intensest irritant of the coarsest sensuality. And a large part of our modern spiritists show themselves degraded in every part of their being under the power of their new belief, delivered over to everything evil, and delivered from no one passion which held them in bondage before, except from the fear of death. What would be the influence on France, or on Europe, of the prevalence of Spiritualism in its extra-Christian forms over Materialism, it would be hard to say. It might exalt it, and it might destroy it. If its extra-Christian passed into its anti-Christian forms, as they very probably would, they would engender towards the Gospel and its followers a malignity compared with which that of the intensest materialists might very possibly appear tame.

Mr. Myers and Mr. Hutton both set the stronghold of the Gospel precisely where the Church has always set it, in the Resurrection of Christ. Mr. Myers treats with an amused scorn Renan's imbecile attempt (and all attempts have been imbecile) to explain away this "fontal fact." But he himself does not bring out with sufficient distinctness the essential difference between Resurrection and Apparition. On nothing has the whole consciousness, the whole existence, of the Church always rested less than the complete and final triumph of our Redeemer over the whole compass of the power of death. It is not the abortive impotence of Hades, but the glory of the victory over it, which gives substance to the Easter hope, and exultation to the Easter hymn. This is a fact beyond the reach of the Psychical Society, as we may acknowledge while conceding the usefulness and importance of this institute, especially if it shall succeed in substituting investigation for the hideousness of incantation.

Mr. Hutton, or, which is practically the same, the "Spectator," remarks that the prevalence of the doctrine of Evolution, in its true significance, will have a benignant effect in freeing us from the burden of the belief that the God whose thoughts concerning the races of his creatures are seen to be slowly and secularly progressive must be held to determine and conclude his eternal relations with the individual in the form which these may happen to have at the moment of death. "These are the beginnings of his ways." A few inconclusive arguments built on a few incidental forms of

expression in the Scripture will not be able to restrain the wider thoughts of the Creator's purposes for good which have been wrought in the Church by the operation of the Spirit of the Father and the Son. At the same time, as is remarked in the "Spectator," — I believe in commenting upon "The Little Pilgrim," — we are not to overlook the possibility, and are not to treat it as merely abstract, but must recognize it as concrete, as actually realizable and to be feared for many, that the creature should become so confirmed in evil, the principles of its being, so to speak, so irrecoverably polarized in opposition to God, as to make the thought of Him an intolerable torture, from which the nethermost darkness would be welcomed as an eternal relief.

One so thoroughly and centrally grounded in Christ as Richard Holt Hutton must of course view the divisions of the Church, from greatest to least, very differently from those to whom a section of Christendom, large or small, is practically coincident with Christianity itself. Broad Church has two meanings. It often means a hazy and invertebrate good-nature under whose working Christianity becomes an indeterminate hodge-podge of everything and nothing. But it may mean a breadth of view which does not make too much of even the deepest divisions within the Church, while definitely rejecting every religious and ethical position which is not organically developed from the regenerate consciousness of those who in the distinct and supreme sense accept the mind of Christ as the revelation of God. Of course, then, in a Protestant, the test of his measure of breadth is his view of Catholicism.

Mr. Hutton altogether accepts Robert Browning's judgment of Roman Catholicism. He is a Protestant who has freed himself so entirely from a thousand embarrassing assumptions which the Reformation brought over from the elder system, that he can be both kinder and juster to this than most Protestants can be who do not know how to give good grounds for laying aside much which they do not love, and therefore supply in heat what they lack in argument. It is of such liberal Protestants that a Roman Catholic has acknowledged that, while their kindness and justice merit gratitude, they are the least hopeful subjects for conversion. He quotes (evidently appropriating it) his friend Bagehot's characterization of Rome, —

"Like once thy chief, thou bear'st Christ's name ;  
Like him, thou hast denied his shame."

He illustrates the intensity of sensual superstition which Rome

has allowed by quoting the wandering talk of the old bishop who adjures his natural sons to place his jasper tomb where he should

"Hear the blessed mutter of the mass,  
And see God made and eaten all day long."

He utterly denies that we have any external authority, Church, or Bible, which can supply us with a ready-made infallibility. We are to learn truth more immediately relating to God precisely as we learn contingent truth, by a docile candor of acceptance of such evidence as is instrumentally presented to us. The two principal channels of spiritual evidence are the Church and the Bible. But imperfect men make up the one and have written the other. The infallibility of Christ himself is not an infallibility which binds up, but one which sets free, our powers for endless progression in the knowledge of truth, far beyond that which He could reveal, or that which, in earthly limitation, He explicitly knew. Of course, then, Mr. Hutton, with all who belong, in his sense, to the Broad Church, is far more hopelessly irreconcilable with Rome than any school of orthodox Protestantism. And for this reason he acknowledges them both as two grand exemplifications of Christianity, each with its characteristic excellences and its characteristic defects. Much that he incidentally says is a good deal like Matthew Arnold's comparisons of the two. Especially does he regard St. Francis de Sales as the true father of that mild equitableness which is the especial note of modern Christianity. A form of Christianity so entirely and cheerfully at home in the world, and yet as absolutely detached from it, as absolutely resting in eternity, as if it were embodied in the austerest eremite, is of course intolerable to modern Secularism. Therefore, as the "Spectator" suggests, it is no wonder that some who dare show that they hate the Bishop of Geneva, though they do not quite dare show how much they hate his Master, do their best to discredit him by the report of cruelties in the Chablais, which they do not any the less willingly use because their accounts are drawn from poisoned sources.

Not merely the High Church, but even most of the Broad Church — Dr. A. V. G. Allen being a notable exception — bear the Anglican stamp in a certain lack of full appreciation of Martin Luther. It appears to me that even Mr. Hutton does not altogether escape this. And yet what he says about Luther is well said. "Isolate the mind from visible agencies and the Roman Catholic has hardly a religious life to live. But the religion of Protestantism is in its primary nature separated from visible agen-



cies. Springing up in secret struggles, it is matured by thought, watered by personal emotion, and rooted directly in God. It has been the child of Conscience, the pupil of Philosophy, the companion of Poetry, the parent of Freedom. Not that I ignore its relation to the Bible. But I am speaking of an inborn character in the nations which embraced it, which, after ripening long in silence, must have led to some far angrier flood of religious resentment against Roman bonds, had there been no simultaneous republication of a gospel which gave grandeur to rebellion and set a limit to the spirit of destruction." "Luther's own character is the key, not only to his work, but to his powerful influence over the north, and to the limits which that influence speedily reached. I am very far from assenting to Macaulay's utterly skeptical suggestion that Catholicism and Protestantism must always divide the world. But I do believe that the Christianity which alone can conquer the earth will be a faith neither so entirely rooted in inward and personal emotions as that of Luther, nor so studiously reflected in secondary agencies and external institutions as that of Rome." This is all well and sound, as is everything else that he says about Luther, of which space has compelled me to omit some more fully appreciative but longer passages. But weighing all, it appears to me that a Protestant brought up outside of Anglicanism misses something which shall give a more central and permanently controlling character to the work of Luther than Mr. Hutton ascribes to it. As an Englishman has said, Americans now belong rather in the same intellectual sphere with Germany than with England, which perhaps explains this vague discontent.

Nor can we concede to Mr. Gladstone that the movement of the sixteenth century was a reformation, but not a revelation. It had much of the true character of a revelation. If it cannot exactly be called a new revelation of Christ, it was at least a powerful revelation of Paul, in which Christ is more deeply and more freely appropriated. It is, of course, not a revelation in such a sense as that the reversion of a good man into Catholicism is an apostasy from Christ. Indeed, even our way of talking about conversions to Catholicism as "perversions" is rather strained and artificial. There are forms, and very exalted forms, of Christian saintliness, which the atmosphere of Protestantism does not foster. There are good men in each system who breathe more freely when they have found their way into the other, although "the free, breezy religion of Protestantism," as my beloved teacher, John Morgan of Oberlin, used to be fond of calling it



has, in its future possibilities, larger room for a larger variety of Christian growth. But its possibilities are still too much cramped by sectarian dread, and meanwhile a good many excellent men and women go over, and for themselves at least do well in going over, into the Roman Catholic Church. The "Spectator" has lately described the noble Christianity of one of these, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, and the strength imparted to it by the doctrinal definiteness of her new communion. It has likewise defended with peculiar energy that eminent convert, the Marquis of Ripon, against the cynical, indeed positively brutal attack of the "Times," which could not forego the opportunity of flinging mud at a man who, in India, dared to show that he believed that a Christian Viceroy had been sent by a Christian Empress for Christian ends, who had succeeded in gaining the confidence and admiration of all the Englishmen in whose view India is a trust, and the hatred of all the Englishmen who conceive India chiefly as an appanage for younger sons.

Mr. Hutton's greatest service is, as he would wish it to be, his keeping us in mind that the personality of God is a living Force, which has laid hold of us and is bearing us upward, which, indeed, transcends all our definitions, but whose nature declares itself to us in the living relations through which it discloses itself to us in present operativeness at every turn. Being convinced, he writes convincingly, and has no use for that abstract figment of the brain, meaning anything or nothing, which so many even of Christian men have been bent on making do duty for the Living God. His position means something; and no other position, however disguised, means, intellectually, anything but Atheism. And not doubting that God has this world in hand, he doubts not that therefore the deepest shadows of skepticism which pass over it will in due time be dissolved in happy light.

*Charles C. Starbuck.*

ANDOVER.

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## SOCIALISM IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

TWENTY-ONE years ago Karl Marx wrote: "The English Established Church will more readily pardon an attack on thirty-eight of its thirty-nine articles than on one thirty-ninth of its income." To-day there are probably more followers of Karl Marx in the Church of England than in any two other church organi-

zations in the world. Few, out of England, who have not especially studied the subject, can realize to what extent socialistic thought has entered into the thought and life of the English Church. Said to me a careful student, who when he lectures at Oxford or other thought-centres draws an earnest and interested audience: "The Church of England, which during this century has awakened to such a new wondrous life, has within the last fifteen years entered upon a period of still more increased activity, and this last impulse has been occasioned mainly by the momentum gained by its contact with and absorption of socialistic thought."

There are, to begin with, two church papers in England especially devoted to the propagation of socialistic principles. One of these, "The Christian Socialist," has a circulation of two or three thousand, and a few years ago, in the flush of the George movement in England, reached a circulation of five thousand. This paper says of itself, that "while maintaining the Christian spirit upon which the teachings of Maurice and Kingsley were based, it does not hesitate to advance the principles of socialism with all the significance which have been added to that term by the patient economic investigations of such men as Lassalle, Karl Marx, and Henry George." The other paper, "The Church Reformer," has a smaller circulation, being more confined to London readers, but it is, perhaps, the abler of the two papers, and equally socialistic in its political economy. Ruskin recently said of this paper, "I never yet looked through a paper I thought so right, or likely to be so useful." Its radical nature can be seen in its reference to the Queen's Jubilee celebration as that "blasphemous" adulation going on at Westminster Abbey; and by the ultra-socialistic literature advertised and commended in its columns. Its editor is the plucky Radical High Churchman, Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, recently prominent in his controversy upon the Ballet with the Bishop of London, and more so for his participation in the so-called Trafalgar Square Riots. The motto of his paper is William Blake's:—

"I will not cease from mental fight,  
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,  
Till we have built Jerusalem  
In England's green and pleasant land."

He is himself, however, anything but a demagogue and public agitator; he is an earnest Anglican priest, who has sacrificed prospects of preferment and devoted his life and modest compe-

tence to the propagation of the socialistic and churchly truths he holds dear. He has earthly reward in the growing homage and deepening trust of large masses of London's unemployed and "dis-inherited."

This paper is also the official organ of the Guild of St. Matthew, which is itself proving such a socialistic influence in the English Church. It is largely a High Church organization, but is even more distinctively socialistic. Its professed objects are: "I. To get rid, by every possible means, of the existing prejudices, especially on the part of 'Secularists,' against the Church—her Sacraments and Doctrines; and to endeavor 'to justify God to the people.' II. To promote frequent and reverent Worship in the Holy Communion, and a better observance of the teachings of the Church of England as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. III. To promote the study of Social and Political Questions in the light of the Incarnation." These are the avowed objects of the Guild, but it is becoming yearly more distinctively socialist, and most of the members now openly call themselves Socialists. So much is this so, that a clergyman known to belong to this Guild has small chance of preferment or presentation to any living by the ordinary English patron. Very many clergymen, nevertheless, have joined the Guild, some fifty of them in London alone or in the immediate vicinity. Prominent among these are the editor of the paper; the Rev. W. E. Moll, of St. Mary's, Soho, who actively engages in Radical and Socialist politics; the Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, who is making his church of St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey, Victoria Street, a very centre of religious socialism; and the Rev. T. Hancock, author of a sermon recently widely circulated in England, entitled "The Banner of Christ in the hands of the Socialists," and maintaining the virtual identity of modern socialism and living Christianity.

The Guild of St. Matthew has an active and growing branch at Oxford, finding congenial soil in many of the tendencies of modern Oxford life. Its average membership here is some thirty at the close of each term, and the influence of these members, largely imbued with socialistic ideas, going out each year into the best life of England, and particularly into her church life, cannot easily be overestimated.

At Cambridge, perhaps owing to the lesser presence there of High Church influences, the Guild has no branch; but Canon Westcott is a Socialist, for example, his "Social Aspects of Christianity," and a London Socialist told me that the Canon's influence reached the whole university.

The Guild of St. Matthew is, as we have said, mainly High Church, and much of the modern High Churchism of England seems politically quite radical and socialistic; but socialism is by no means confined to the High Church wing. The influence of Robertson and Maurice and Kingsley has by no means left the Broad Church party. The Rev. S. A. Barnett, of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, and warden and to a large extent founder of Toynbee Hall, though not calling himself a Socialist, is one of the most influential clergymen in London on all social subjects, and uses his influence largely on the socialist side; while many of the residents at Toynbee Hall and in all the Universities' Settlement in London are open and avowed socialists.

The Episcopacy is naturally, and perhaps rightly, conservative; but even here one sees the working of socialistic leaven. It is not long since the Bishop of Rochester, whose diocese includes South London and much of England south of the Thames, thought that political economy "forbade" anything but the present state of affairs. This year, on St. Matthew's Day, he consented to preach the sermon before the Guild of St. Matthew, indicating almost a revolution in the Right Reverend Father's mind; while Bishop Morehouse, of Manchester, was chairman and moulding influence of the Lambeth Conference's Committee on Socialism; and the Bishops of York, Salisbury, Bedford, and Lichfield have all recently given utterance to thoughts and positions that twenty years ago would have been considered incendiary coming from the lips of lesser men. The Lambeth Conference Report, and consideration itself of socialism, are among the signs of the times. To the scientific socialist the report is indeed almost absurdly illogical, yet its every sentence indicates at least the growing respect and consideration with which modern Christianity is coming to regard the propositions of thoughtful socialism. Perhaps the most significant clause in that report is the recommendation coming from episcopal lips, that the Church require some knowledge of economic science from her candidates for orders. Mill's Political Economy is added to Pearson on the Creed.

Of course, there are many yet who scoff at Christianity's having anything to do with Socialism, and "many are amazed and many doubt." It belongs to the gossip of the Lambeth Conference that when the Guild of St. Matthew memorialized the bishops on the subject of Socialism, one of their number wrote in answer that he was too busy and too old to attend to any such "nonsense." This nonsense having been written by one of the ablest economists in

London, it is well that the majority of the bishops thought that "no more important problem can well occupy the attention, whether of clergy or laity, than such as are connected with what is popularly called Socialism." The cordial and respectful treatment socialism has also received at English Church congresses, particularly at that of Wolverhampton, is too well known to deserve more than passing reference. By every sign, Christian Socialism is taking deep hold of the English Church.

Passing for a moment to the reasons why the Church of England should lend such a willing ear to practical socialism, it must be remembered that this is but an especial phase of a much broader movement. All English life is moving towards a mild socialism. As was said in Parliament, "We are all Socialists now." Since the Reform Bill of 1832 England has moved steadily in this direction. Factory acts, mines regulation acts, education acts, employers liability acts, land acts, have been but different mile-posts indicating progress on a single road. Socialism has the future. To a large extent it has the present of English thought. A tract on "The Progress of Socialism," by Sidney Webb, LL. B., lecturer on Economics at the City of London College, shows that last winter out of fourteen courses of lectures on Economics given in London, eight were by professed Socialists, and that the University Extension Societies find it difficult to obtain economist lecturers sufficiently free from the taint of socialism to satisfy the older members of the committee. The tract also reminds us that when the editor of the new issue of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* wanted from some eminent economist an article representing the present position of that science, it was to a professed socialist that he went.

When such men as Professor Marshall call themselves socialists, and Mr. Sidgwick in the "Contemporary Review" endorses the main principles of socialism, — when William Morris, the artist, edits a socialistic paper, "The Commonweal," and Alfred Russel Wallace heads a movement for Land Nationalization, — it can be seen what a hold Socialism is taking on all English life. Said Mr. Morris to me, "We were never so hopeful for Socialism as now."

Nor is the Established Church the only church in England feeling this influence. The Dissenting churches of England have always found their strongest hold on the prosperous middle classes. They may be called almost exclusively Bourgeoisie churches, but, nevertheless, even here Socialism is creeping in. The Rev. Price

Hughes, of the Wesleyan West End Mission, is a practical socialist; the Rev. Henry Simon, of the Congregationalists, is nearly so; and the Rev. John Glaspey, of the Established Church of Scotland, is said to be the head and shoulders of socialism in Edinburgh.

But there are, perhaps, especial reasons why the Church of England is peculiarly open to such influences. It is the church of the rich and the poor, not of the middle class, not of the manufacturing centres, where *laissez faire* has taken its deepest root. It is above all the church of the land-owner and the land-tiller, binding it of necessity closer to the state than the churches of the trading and manufacturing classes. A state church, again, is in itself naturally a religious socialistic institution. If a socialistic government is to be religious, its most natural outcome is a state church. Once more, the independent position, practically freeholds, of at least the beneficed clergy, makes it much more possible for them to maintain radical positions than it can be for men dependent upon the support of their congregations. But above all, what Stanley called the fortunate "secularity" of the Church of England must be the main cause of socialism taking a deeper hold of this church than of any other. The beneficed English clergyman is in a very real sense a civil officer. This must naturally tend to make him magnify the power of the state and so magnify his own office. At the same time his intimate relation and acquaintance with the poor and the unprivileged must tend to make him a democrat and often a radical, the union of state rule and democratic feeling ending naturally enough in belief in socialism. The revival of earnestness in the church and the revelations of the condition of the masses in England intensify this; and perhaps above all else the feeling which the Archbishop of York expressed in his closing sermon before the Lambeth Conference, that "the cry of the poor is just," has been operative in this way. Remembering the traditions of the English Church, tracing the succession of apostolic bravery and devotion to the cause of the people down through Wycliffe, John Ball, Cranmer, Latimer, Hooker, Taylor, Tillotson, Clarkson, Robertson, Maurice, Kingsley, Headlam, it is not strange that the earnest English churchman of to-day believes in the state, believes in England, but also believes in the rights of the common people, and wedding political justice to earnest Christianity, has a ready heart for scientific Christianized Socialism.

W. D. P. Bliss.

SOUTH BOSTON.



## PROFESSOR DRUMMOND AND ATHLETIC CHRISTIANITY IN OUR AMERICAN COLLEGES.

SOME ten years ago, the religious circles of this country and England were aroused by the appearance of a new work, entitled "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." The title-page bore the name of Henry Drummond, Professor of Natural Science in Glasgow University. To the American reading public, this was its first introduction to the now famous Scotch professor, scientist, writer, and teacher. Since that time his reputation has widened and increased, until his name and work have become familiar to all sections of our land. The knowledge, however, which most people possess of the past life of Professor Drummond is of the most general sort, and consequently it may not be out of place even in the present article to sketch very briefly the main points in his career.

Henry Drummond was born at Stirling, Scotland, in 1852. He was educated first at Edinburgh University, and afterwards at Tübingen University in Germany. In 1877 he became Professor of Natural Science in the Free Church College at Glasgow. A short time afterwards, in company with Professor Geikie, he visited America for the purpose of making a geological expedition to the Rocky Mountains and the Yellowstone Park. He also explored Central Africa in order to obtain unknown species of animals and insects. In 1877-78 he contributed several articles to the "Clerical World" upon certain allied subjects of a religious nature. The publication of these essays created such widespread interest that Professor Drummond was induced to add several others to them, and publish the entire series in book-form, under the title of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." This was the origin of what may well be termed a masterpiece in the field of religious literature. During the last ten years he has taken an active and leading part in the religious work which has been carried on so successfully among the colleges of England and Scotland. He was of the greatest assistance to Messrs. Moody and Sankey in carrying on their evangelistic meetings in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places in Scotland. To him, in a large measure, is due the deep and wide religious movement which has virtually changed the whole atmosphere of college life at the great English and Scotch universities. With this brief introductory sketch of Professor Drummond himself, let us now turn our

attention to the work which he so successfully carried out among the college students of America during the early fall of 1887.

It is well known to most of our readers that, some three years ago, the noted evangelist Dwight L. Moody organized what is known as a "College Students' Summer School," at Northfield, Mass. The special purpose which Mr. Moody had in view when he organized this school was to afford an opportunity whereby students from all of the American colleges and universities might come together for a few weeks during the summer, and receive instruction and inspiration in all phases of Christian work. From the start, it was Mr. Moody's plan to have present to address the students several prominent speakers, whose reputation in many instances was far more than local. This last feature of the "Summer School" was the "moving cause" which brought Professor Drummond to this country. As early as the winter of 1886, Mr. Moody was in correspondence with Professor Drummond, with a view to securing his presence at Northfield during the following summer. At the same time he was also very strongly urged by Rev. L. D. Wishard, the able and energetic College Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of this country, to visit and address some of the leading colleges during the fall of 1887, with a view to stirring them up to greater zeal and earnestness in Christian work. After careful consideration of the matter, the invitation was accepted, and the 30th of June, 1887, found Professor Henry Drummond in attendance at the opening of the second "College Students' Summer School," held at Northfield, Mass. During the two weeks' session which ensued, he delivered a number of addresses, which have since been published in a work entitled, a "College of Colleges."<sup>1</sup> These embraced such topics as "Dealing with Doubt," "Study of the Bible," "Love the Supreme Gift," "A Mighty Work in Scotland," and others. From some of these we shall have occasion to quote later on. With the opening of the colleges in the fall, Professor Drummond commenced his more active and practical work among the college men of this land. During the months of September and October he visited Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Amherst, Columbia, and the medical schools of New York city, and inaugurated in them all the great religious "movement" which is the subject of the present article. In order to do the subject full justice, let us take up and consider successively the work which was done in each by Professor Drummond, and also the results which have followed as a natural sequence to it.

<sup>1</sup> F. H. Revell, Pub.

First, then, as to the work in Yale, which will serve to illustrate most aptly the methods that were adopted in all. Among the first things which Professor Drummond did on entering upon his work at Yale was to obtain a list of those students who were denominated as "leaders." These included men who were first in scholarship, and the various branches of athletics, such as boating, base-ball, foot-ball, etc. After having obtained a list of this nature, he called upon each man personally, told them that he needed "leaders" in his work among the students of Yale, and asked them if they were not willing to act their part in an effort to bring the students in a body over to the side of Christianity. Great success rewarded his efforts in this direction, and it was not long ere he had most of the leading men in Yale University enlisted on his side. In a short time great religious interest was aroused, and with the advice of Professor Drummond and others, a plan of Christian work was adopted. This included the holding of separate class prayer-meetings twice a week, a general religious meeting every Sunday evening, extended mission work in New Haven, and the sending out of deputations to other colleges. The result of Professor Drummond's work at Yale has been well summed up as follows: "Men seemed to get a new conception of what Christianity meant, and others were aroused and quickened, and made active in Christian work. There was no perceptible relapse after his departure, such as is so often the case after a time of deep religious interest. New men have been gained, who have not flagged once during the year."

Let us now turn to Harvard, and consider briefly the work that was done there. With one exception, the nature and trend of the work at Harvard was similar to that done at Yale, consisting, as it did, of addresses and personal work on the part of Professor Drummond, and outlining a plan of work for the ensuing year. The "one exception" referred to above related to the Globe Theatre meetings, which were organized and carried on in Boston by Harvard students. These meetings were so peculiar in their way, and so interesting as an experiment in religious work, that we venture to quote somewhat at length from a sketch which has been written concerning them. It reads as follows: "On the last night of Professor Drummond's stay at Harvard, a number of students remained at an after-meeting to talk over plans for Christian work. About ninety men signified their willingness to help carry out any plan that might be adopted. The men who were particularly interested discussed the matter further with Professor

Drummond. Being so near to Boston, it was thought that some kinds of meetings might be held to get hold of those who do not ordinarily come under any religious influence. The meetings that were held in Faneuil Hall, at the North End, last year, and addressed by Rev. Phillips Brooks, suggested the plan that we followed. The five college preachers — Drs. Peabody, Gordon, Brooks, Hale, and McKenzie — offered to do the preaching, if the students would do the rest. So the Globe Theatre, seating about seventeen hundred, was secured for five Sunday evenings. The organization of these meetings was put in the hands of a number of committees, and by them money was raised from students and friends outside the college. Programmes and tickets were provided for, and ushers and chorus secured from among the students. About five thousand tickets were distributed each week among ten-cent lodging-houses, coffee-rooms, and similar places, and, in one instance, men were sent into the voting-places and rough quarters of the city. An audience of nearly fifteen hundred was secured each night. The meetings included a great deal of singing, which was under the management of a chorus of about one hundred students, grouped about the chapel choir on the stage. The speaking did not vary greatly from the ordinary sermon, except that effort was made to adapt it to the capacities of those present." So much, then, for the work at Harvard, which affords a most signal example of the great progress which Christianity has made among American college students during the past year. The visit of Professor Drummond at Princeton and Amherst was, in the main, similar in its results to those made at Harvard and Yale. At both of these institutions, as a direct result of his visit, there occurred a great religious awakening, and at Princeton, especially, the interest aroused was of the deepest and most genuine kind.

To conclude the narrative portion of this article, let us turn to the remarkable religious work which has been prosecuted among the colleges of New York city. In the latter part of October, 1887, it was announced in all the medical and law schools of the city that Professor Henry Drummond, of Scotland, would deliver an address the following Sunday afternoon, to which all the students of these institutions were invited. At the hour appointed, there assembled in the hall of the New York Young Men's Christian Association, where the address was to be delivered, a large and attentive audience, composed entirely of students belonging to the law and medical professions. During

the entire course of Professor Drummond's remarks, he held the closest and most absorbed attention of his audience, and when he closed, all present took the opportunity to openly express their gratification for and approval of the speaker's remarks. At the same time an earnest desire was expressed that active steps might be taken towards forming a religious organization of some sort among the professional and academic students of the metropolis.

The work of forming such an organization was greatly accelerated by an address delivered by Professor Drummond to the students of the various departments of Columbia College. As a result of the interest thus aroused, delegates from some half a dozen medical schools, together with others from the various departments of Columbia, met to discuss plans, whereby the good results of Professor Drummond's work in New York city might not only be preserved, but also greatly enlarged and strengthened. After mature and careful deliberation, an organization was perfected, which was to be known as the "New York Students' Movement." The plan of work adopted was substantially as follows: Each Sunday evening, during the fall and winter, a meeting was to be held in Dockstader's Theatre, on Broadway, which should be addressed by some prominent man, and to which students alone were to be invited. These addresses were to be religious in character, but were to be as far removed from the stereotyped sermon form as it was possible to make them. The reason for holding these meetings in a theatre was this; namely, that men would attend there who could not be induced to go to a church or chapel. Besides this, the theatre selected was centrally located, cheerful, and convenient. Another feature of these Sunday evening meetings, in addition to the regular address, was a series of short speeches by student delegates from neighboring colleges. The plan thus outlined was carried out with marked success. Such men as Chauncey M. Depew and William E. Dodge may be mentioned to show the character of the men who addressed the meetings, while student delegations from Yale, Princeton, Brown, Williams, and other colleges were present at different times. The platform upon which the Students' Movement was organized was a broad and liberal one; to its meetings and organization—what little there was of it—all students of any Christian denomination were freely admitted. The phrase "Christian denomination" is here used in a broad sense, as embracing all those who accept Christ as their example, whatever be their conception of his divinity or origin. The spirit and purpose of the organization

was to teach and preach a "manly Christianity," to be practiced and adopted by all. To sum up briefly the results of the work in New York, they were as follows: For the first time in the history of the city, a successful religious movement was organized and carried on among the students in the various medical, law, and academic schools. Into this work many were brought who had never before been connected with any religious sect or denomination; and, finally, it has shown to the outside world that, even among law and medical students, religious work may be prosecuted to a successful termination.

This concludes the purely descriptive part of this article, consisting, as it does, of a mere narration of the work of Professor Drummond among our American colleges. The remainder of the space allotted to us will be devoted mainly to an analysis of his work as a whole, together with brief extracts from his addresses, which will serve to show the drift and nature of his teachings, — a task which, if faithfully and accurately performed, cannot fail to interest the reader.

First, then, let us present a few brief extracts from the addresses delivered by Professor Drummond in this country, in order that the reader may appreciate the fearless vigor and thoughtful intensity which characterize all his addresses on religious subjects. For example, when commenting upon the demeanor and appearance of the professing Christian, he very tersely remarked that "there is no virtue in emaciation." Again, in connection with some advice to young Christians in respect to dealing with knotty and troublesome theological problems, he says: "The value of any theological question depends upon whether it has a sanctifying influence." One of his finest thoughts, and one which he has put in beautiful epigrammatic form, relates to man's duty to those who doubt the truths of revealed religion. "Heresy," he there observes, "is truth in the making, and doubt is the prelude of knowledge." This subject of "doubt," which he dealt with quite at length in one of his addresses at Northfield, gave rise to certain observations which are remarkable for their boldness and fearlessness in speaking what he believed to be the truth. His words on this occasion were as follows: "All religious truths are doubttable. There is no absolute proof for any one of them. Even that fundamental truth — the existence of a God — involves either an assumption, argument in a circle, or a contradiction. The impression of God is kept up by experience, not by logic. And hence, when the experimental religion of a man, of a com-



munity, or of a nation wanes, religion wanes, their idea of God grows indistinct, and that man, community, or nation, becomes infidel."

While speaking of difficulties in the way of those who seek to convince themselves of the truths of religion, Mr. Drummond says: "I would not rob a man of his problems, nor would I have another man rob me of my problems. . . . Entreat him (your fellow-man) not to postpone life and life's usefulness until he has settled the problems of the universe."

Taking up in this same connection the subject of evolution, he, without expressing any opinion upon the matter himself, remarks that "Christianity itself is the further evolution."

One of his best addresses, and one which touches upon that fruitful source of disputation, the verbal inspiration of the Bible, is that entitled "The Story of the Bible." In it he gives utterance to the following thoughts, which certainly are deserving of the most careful consideration. In the *first* place, he says, "the Bible came out of religion, not religion out of the Bible. The Bible is a product of religion, not a cause of it. . . . The historical books came out of facts; the devotional books came out of experiences; the letters came out of circumstances; and the Gospels came out of all three. That is where the Bible came from. It came out of religion; religion did not come out of the Bible. You see the difference. The religion is not, then, in the writing alone; but in these facts, experiences, circumstances, in the history and development of a people led and taught by God. And it is not the words that are inspired so much as the men. *Secondly*: These men were authors; they were not pens. Their individuality comes out on every page they wrote. They were different in mental and literary style; in insight; and even the same writers differ at different times. These writers did not know they were writing a Bible. *Third*: The Bible is not a book; it is a library. It consists of sixty-six books. It is a great convenience, but, in some respects, a great misfortune, that these books have always been bound up together, and given out as one book to the world when they are not; because that has led to endless mistakes in theology and in practical life. *Fourth*: These books, which make up this library, written at intervals of hundreds of years, were collected after the last of the writers was dead,—long after,—by human hands. Where were the books? Take the New Testament. There were twenty-one letters. Five were in Greece and Macedonia; five were in Asia; one in Rome. The rest were in the pockets of

private individuals. Theophilus had Acts. They were collected undesignedly. For example, the letter to the Galatians was written to the Church in Galatia. Somebody would make a copy or two, and put it into the hands of the members of the different churches, and they would find their way, not only to the churches in Galatia, but, after an interval, to nearly all the churches. In those days the Christians scattered up and down through the world exchanged copies of those letters very much as geologists up and down the world exchange specimens of butterflies. And, after a long time, a number of the books began to be pretty well known. In the third century the New Testament consisted of the following books: the four Gospels, Acts, thirteen letters of Paul, 1st John, 1st Peter, and, in addition, the epistles of Barnabas and Hermas. This was not called the New Testament, but the Christian Library. Then these last books were put out. They ceased to be regarded as upon the same level as the others. In the fourth century the canon was closed; that is to say, a list was made up of the books which were to be regarded as canonical. And then, long after, they were stitched together, and made up into one book, — hundreds of years after that. Who made up the complete list? It was never formally made up. The bishops of the different churches would draw up a list of the books which they thought ought to be put into this testament. The churches would also give their opinion. Sometimes councils would meet and talk it over — discuss it. Scholars like Jerome would investigate the authenticity of the different documents, and there came to be a general consensus of the churches on the matter. But no formal closing of the canon was attempted. *Lastly:* All religions have their sacred books, just as the Christians have theirs. Why is it necessary to remind ourselves of that? If you ask a man why he believes such and such a thing, he will tell you because it is in the Bible. If you ask him, 'How do you know the Bible is true?' he will probably reply, 'Because it says so.' Now, let that man remember that the sacred books of all the other religions make the same claim; and while it is quite enough among ourselves to talk about a thing being true because it is in the Bible, we come in contact with outsiders, and have to meet the skepticism of the day. We must go far deeper than that. The religious books of the other religions claim to be far more divine in their origin than do ours. For example, the Mahommedans claim for the Koran — a large section of them at least — that it was uncreated, and that it lay before the throne of

God from the beginning of time. They claim it was put into the hands of the angel Gabriel, who brought it down to Mahomet, and dictated it to him, and allowed him, at long intervals, to have a look at the original book itself, — bound with silk and studded with precious stones. That is a claim of much higher divinity than we claim for our book; and if we simply have to rely upon the Bible's testimony to its own verity, it is for the same reason the Mahommedan would have you put your trust in the Vedas. That is why Bible study is of such importance. We can get to the bottom of truth in itself, and be able to give a reason for the faith that is in us."

In another of his addresses, Professor Drummond condenses a whole sermon into the following short sentence: "Religion does not consist in negatives." In these words he embodies the sum and substance of his theory of what a Christian life should be; that is, positive, active, and aggressive.

In another of his Northfield talks, delivered on the subject of "Love — the Supreme Gift," he has expressed some beautiful thoughts which will well bear reproduction here. One of them touches incidentally upon the subject of future punishment, and is as follows: "The life of love is an eternal life, and there is no worse fate can befall a man than to live and grow old alone; unloving and unloved. *To be lost* is to live in an unregenerate condition, loveless and unloved; and *to be saved* is to love, for God is love." In a sketch of the great religious movement that swept through the universities of England and Scotland, and in which he bore a most active part, Professor Drummond has given us a very clear idea of his conception of what constitutes *conversion*, as well as his views as to the true meaning of a Christian life. He speaks as follows: "There was no interference with speculation. We never touched perplexing questions. We allowed every man to think as he liked. We respected honest doubt in every direction. Our creed was very simple. We had no creed. We had a person. We tried to lead every man into the fellowship of Christ, and then let him settle his doubts as he liked, or leave them unsettled. Our gospel was: 'Save your lives,' — not so much 'Save your souls,' as 'Save your lives;' and the chief end was to lead every man to become a friend of Christ, and become an active subject and member of Christ's kingdom."

Having now given such extracts as will serve to show the reader the style, tenor, and character of the religious addresses which Professor Drummond delivered in this country before audiences

of college men, we are prepared to consider briefly the general results which have been achieved through his instrumentality.

In the first place should be noticed the character of the men who have been most prominent in helping forward this new movement in the colleges themselves. For in no other way can the present religious awakening among our American college students be better distinguished from others that have taken place than by noting the character of the men that have been most instrumental in bringing it about. It may be stated, as a broad, general rule, that those men who have been most active in carrying on this work in their respective institutions have been what are commonly known as "leaders." Look wherever you will, you will find that the men who have been most prominent and active in promoting the new Christian movement are likewise those who are foremost in scholarship, in athletics, and general good-fellowship. Perhaps the most notable and encouraging feature of the entire work is the prominent part that the athletic men of the various colleges have taken in its prosecution. It was with this fact in mind that Mr. George William Curtis, in a letter written to the writer, termed the new movement "Athletic Christianity." This term seemed so peculiarly appropriate and suggestive that it has found a place in the title to this article. Nor will the phrase seem an improper one to those who understand fully the important part that athletics play in college life. One can scarcely overestimate the increased power which results to the cause of Christianity in our American colleges, by virtue of the fact that the leading athletic men in our largest institutions have come out unreservedly and openly on its side. One of the most remarkable audiences that ever assembled in the city of Boston was one composed of about a thousand collegians, gathered from all the New England colleges, who came together last winter during the session of the College Christian Association, to listen to short addresses from some half a dozen of their own numbers. Among the speakers at that meeting were the captains of the Yale base-ball and foot-ball teams, the captain of the Harvard crew, and a member of the Princeton foot-ball team. All of these, without exception, were devoted heart and soul to the furtherance of a simple and manly Christianity among the college students of our land. Naturally enough, all these things have had effect upon life in our Eastern colleges. One of the results was well stated by Mr. Depew, at one of the Dockstader meetings, to be "that in an American college to-day no man need apologize for being a Chris-

tian." And this is, indeed, true; for to-day, in any of the educational institutions of the land, it requires far less moral courage for a man to profess Christianity before his fellow-students, than it did in times past. The reason of this is obvious. To-day one has the sympathy and encouragement of the best and most influential men in his class and college to help him along in his new course; while formerly, in most cases, the Christian student was the exception, and by no means the rule. Another feature of the new movement is the important effect it has had upon college life itself. The athletic men are learning to carry their Christianity with them into their sports, and, as a consequence, these are becoming characterized more and more by Christian behavior and deportment. Social life is rapidly becoming purer and better, and will soon purge itself of certain elements which tend to debase and lower it. So marked has this become, that, at the banquet which was held at New Haven, immediately after the Yale-Harvard boat-race, several of the old graduates of Yale, who had known only the college customs of earlier days, openly commended their younger brethren upon the change for the better which had occurred since they had left the college halls. Such changes as these should be a source of thankfulness to all who have the welfare of our land at heart. The knowledge that each year our American colleges are sending out into the world men who are not only leaders in scholarship and manly sports, but also men endowed with the spirit of a broad and true Christianity, is in itself full of the deepest import to the future welfare of this country. Now, if ever, the nation needs the help and assistance of the educated, loyal, and loving Christian citizen. And it is not asserting too much to say that upon the men who are now studying within the college halls that are scattered here and there throughout our broad land will devolve the solution of some of the most difficult problems with which a nation has been called to grapple.

In conclusion, let us turn our attention to a question which has been asked time and time again, and which may be stated in this wise: Wherein lies the secret of Professor Drummond's success? To answer this question satisfactorily would require much more time and space than can be given to it in the present article; we would simply state our belief that the secret of Professor Drummond's success lies in the kind of Christianity which he preaches. The age of slavish adherence, and, we might almost say, worship of dogma and creed, is wellnigh past. In its place is coming a

purified, nobler, and a far more practical Christianity. The keen, intelligent, and practical mind of the educated man of to-day cannot be satisfied with a religion which is made up, even in part, of musty, antique, and repulsive tenets, which tend to cover up and obscure the beauty of the faith which lies beneath. What the college student of the present time asks for, and must have, is a Christianity which appeals not only to his emotions and sentiment, but also to his sound common sense and enlightened reason. It was such Christianity as this which was preached by Professor Henry Drummond. Liberal in his views, in the truest and best sense of the word, he set before his hearers a Christianity which was at once pure, simple, and manly. To their proper place within the walls of theological seminaries he relegated the discussion of dogmas and creeds, and left in their place a faith which was human as well as divine. Sympathizing deeply with unbelievers and those who lingered in the realms of doubt, he asked them, in the spirit of true manhood, to embrace a Christianity which was truly manly. But what is this "manly Christianity" of which we speak? It is the simple, pure, practical Christianity of Jesus Christ, minus the congestive coldness and the unhappy asceticism of Puritanism. The man who brands such Christianity as unorthodox is wittingly or unwittingly uttering an untruth. It is indeed true that Professor Drummond advised his hearers not to waste precious time by entering into fruitless discussions upon doctrinal points, or in attempts to arrange satisfactorily the hopelessly entangled mechanism of creeds. But Christianity is becoming day by day more and more practical. Slowly but surely we are learning to recognize the fact that Christianity is not a thing to be shut off in a corner by itself, and not used except on certain state occasions, nor is the practice of its teachings to be postponed until we stand upon the portals of the "life to come." Instead, it should be woven into our daily life until it becomes warp and woof of it. The Christianity inculcated by Professor Drummond does not ask that we frown on the beauties of art in all its varied forms, nor does it consider amusement, either in-door or out-door, to be the playthings of the devil. On the other hand, we are entreated to bring our Christianity into everything, whether it be business or pleasure, and in this manner elevate and ennoble all that we do. It teaches us to love the "humble Nazarene" in a manner so intense as to compel us to live for the welfare and happiness of all mankind, and not for self alone. Nor is this all. It teaches a



faith that is not of a negative and "don't" sort, but rather one that is positive in the highest degree. It is one that says to the doubter, the unbeliever, and the skeptic: "Brother, you do not only want a Christ who is far away in the dim records of ancient history, you want a friendly arm to guide you and lift you up. The real Christ is a wise Counselor and a lovable Companion. He will not rob you of a single cricket-match. He will not crush your inquiring spirit or dethrone your intellect. He will charm you by his love, deliver you from the tyranny of animal passion, and help you to do the will of God on earth."

So much for "Athletic Christianity" and the work of the "noble Scotchman" among the college students of America.

*T. Gold Frost.*

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## THE EVOLUTION OF THE HOME.

IN order not to be misleading by its comprehensiveness, the above title needs to be qualified more accurately to fit the limitations of such an article as this one. All that is proposed here is to trace the direction of the development of domestic relations, and to mark the chief agencies in that development, perhaps, by a comparison of the family life of the two most advanced peoples of antiquity, the Greeks and Romans, with the home life and relations of the most advanced nations of the present day. The reason for attempting this is the hope that so there may be some light thrown upon one of the most interesting and important questions in sociology, namely, the future of the family, which is more and more claiming the attention of thoughtful men. The facts of the past are often worth more as guides for the future than are the most ingenious speculations of the present; and they are the only reasonable grounds upon which to base either our fears or our hopes.

Without attempting to trace the steps from the beginning by which Greece and Rome reached the condition in their social life in which we find them in the days of their greatest enlightenment, we need call attention only to the one fact that in all probability they were the fruits of a primitive patriarchal state. This is conceded on every hand; and, bearing it in mind, we will understand the predominance of the family-idea among them, and the immense influence it wielded in shaping their whole life and civil-

ization, and consequently also on their domestic relations and arrangements. In these two nations, consideration for the family swallowed up every private interest; duty to the family took precedence of every personal duty; the rights of the family transcended all individual rights, or, rather, left room for scarcely any rights of the individual at all. As Sir Henry Maine has clearly expressed it in his "Ancient Law," "Society in ancient times was not what it is assumed to be at present, a collection of *individuals*. In fact, and in the view of the men who composed it, it was an aggregation of *families*. The contrast may be most forcibly expressed by saying that the *unit* of an ancient society was the *family*, of a modern society the *individual*." As the family existed only for the state, so the individual existed only for the family.

Just in this lies the root and foundation of the wide difference between the social and domestic life of the ancients and the moderns. With us the family, with its patriarchal head and his supreme authority, and its extensive and intricate ramification of relationships, as it existed both among the Greeks and Romans, exerts no conscious influence on the individual whatever. If he recognizes its existence at all, it is not as having any claims upon him, but rather as owing him privileges and advantages which he has a right to demand from it! State and family both are regarded as existing only for the individual. And so far as this is the case, there is little question that we are as far wrong as were the ancients in the opposite direction.

The dominance of the family-idea as it existed in Greece and Rome explains almost by itself why there could be no true home and home-life in those times. It rendered impossible some of the most essential and indispensable conditions. The only possible foundation of a real home is the free and voluntary union of two hearts in marriage. Among both Greeks and Romans, however, hearts had very little to do with it. Marriage was not primarily a matter concerning the parties to be married, and to be determined by them alone. Their feelings and wishes were only of secondary importance, — or scarcely even that. First and foremost it was a family affair; and the interest and advantage of the two families to which the man and woman belonged were the prime consideration, and often the only thing consulted. Stress was laid upon equality of social position and of wealth in the two families. The father of the family had power to determine whether or not his sons should marry; and he could select their wives for them.

That he did not usually exercise this authority is more than probable. But that he often did is certain, as well as that his voice and influence always had the greatest weight. In the case of the woman, her wishes had still less weight. She was at the absolute disposal of her father. He was the one with whom the sole power of decision lay. With him the father of the intending husband negotiated; he fixed the dowry; he settled the whole matter. So that there was substantial truth in the complaint of the woman whom Sophokles causes to declare, "When we are grown up, we are driven away from our parents and paternal gods;" and Hermione in Euripides but states the prosaic fact when she says it is her father's business to provide a husband for her.

Under such circumstances, as also in view of the rigid seclusion in which young Greek girls at least were kept, there was of course very little occasion or opportunity for love and courtship. It has even been held by scholars of high authority that "there is no instance of an Athenian falling in love with a free-born woman, and marrying her from violent passion." But this is certainly an exaggeration. Else how could Sophokles have given so touching and true a picture of purest love between two young hearts as that between Antigone and Haemon? Yet this very instance is also itself a striking illustration of the voluntary, instinctive subordination of every other feeling and relation, even of the glowing love of a maiden betrothed to the man of her choice, to the all-dominating feeling and duty of allegiance first of all to the family. Antigone, when confronted with the choice between death and loyalty to her brother Polyneikes on the one hand, and life and union with her lover Haemon on the other, unhesitatingly chooses the former, not that she loves Haemon less, but that she feels the ties binding her to her family as represented by Polyneikes to be stronger and more sacred. This she herself explains:—

"Am I asked what law constrained me thus?  
I answer, had I lost a husband dear  
I might have had another; other sons  
By other spouse, if one were lost to me;  
But when my father and my mother sleep  
In Hades, then no brother more can come!"

As a writer in the "Fortnightly Review" said with reference to another similar case, that of Intaphernes offered by Darius the choice of one life among all those of hers he had doomed to death, and saving her brother rather than her husband or children, "It is a curiously explicit evidence of the strength of the family tie

on the father's side, and the predominance of simple instinct over sentiment in the matters of marriage and even maternity."

Where all personal preference and individual feeling and interest were thus brought into subjection to the sentiment of family allegiance; where the family was everything and the individual nothing; we can readily accept the summing up of Becker, in his "Charicles," that "There were three considerations by which the duty of marriage was enforced. First, respect to the gods; for it was considered to be incumbent on every one to leave behind him those who should continue to discharge his religious obligations." This refers primarily to the household gods. Their proper worship and service were deemed essential to the honor and prosperity of the family. Hence the anxiety to provide for their continued worship from generation to generation by keeping up the supply of male descendants. The motive, therefore, was altogether a family motive. The second consideration, according to Becker, was "obligation to the state, since by generating descendants, its continuance was provided for." This was really only another view of the former one. "A third consideration which induced persons to marry was a regard for their own race and lineage; and this was not only from the wish of seeing themselves perpetuated in the same, but was chiefly in reference to the continuance of the duties to the departed, inasmuch as the belief in the beneficial perception of the offerings and tokens of love devoted to the manes made obligatory the propagation of the family." Often, indeed, the motives and object of marriage were simply mercenary and matters of expediency; still oftener they were lower and more ignoble yet. It is easy to understand that "such arrangements were unfavorable to the existence of real affection, and we cannot be surprised at the frequent prevalence of coldness, indifference, and discontent."

In no real sense was the formation and maintenance of a home possible on such a foundation. For not only is Byron right in saying that "without hearts there is no home"; the hearts with their affections must also be undivided, unconstrained, freely devoted to each other for pure love's sake. In mutual love must be its origin; by mutual love it must be filled; the satisfaction of mutual love must be its highest aim and end. And this

"Love must free-hearted be, and voluntary;  
And not enchanted, or by fate constrained;"

still less by any human power or influence. No parent's fondest wisdom can plan a home for us. Not all the earth's wealth can

build it. Only the two whose home it is to be can do it. Not one of them alone ; nor other than they twain ; but they only.

We are aware, of course, that not all matches are made and marriages consummated at the present day in accordance with this idea. Not infrequently even yet family advantages, considerations of social ambition, physical comfort, and even pecuniary gain, are consulted rather than the purer sentiments and affections of the persons immediately concerned. But while there are still enough such cases among us to keep current Dean Swift's slander, that

"Now love is dwindled to intrigue,  
And marriage grown a money league,"

we know that they are the exceptions, and that infinitely more spring from motives pure and lofty. We believe with all confidence that the vast majority of homes among us are built alone upon

"The pure, open, prosperous love,  
That, pledged on earth, and seal'd above,  
Grows in the world's approving eyes  
In friendship's smile, and home's caress ;  
Collecting all the heart's sweet ties  
Into one knot of happiness."

Indeed, whatever lack of coherence there is in the home of to-day, and consequent failure to realize its true ideal, springs not from the same cause that rendered home impossible in ancient times, but from precisely the opposite. The personal independence which then was wanting altogether is now being abused and carried to harmful extremes. Not only are all the claims and wishes and authority of the family usually ignored and often defied, and that, too, by the merest boys and girls too young to know their own hearts and not yet arrived at the years of discretion when personal independence and social individuality belong to them ; but the modern feeling of individualism, exaggerated and one-sided, is carried into the home itself, a fatal barrier to its peace and happiness, a deadly wall thrust between the two lobes of the one heart upon whose vital union all the life and felicity of home depend.

Even if the tyranny of the family-idea among the ancients had not denied the love which is the only foundation on which the home can be built, its existence would still have been rendered impossible by the total inequality of condition between the sexes that prevailed. Woman was hardly recognized as a person in the ancient family or society. From the hour of her birth, if the

father chose to let the female child live, she was only tolerated in the family as a piece of household property necessary to the maintenance and increase of it. In childhood, while her brother was sent to school, she was denied the privilege; the only education she was granted being that which her mother or nurse would give her. Other instruction than in the arts of cooking, weaving, spinning, and painting, and the performance of woman's household work, was thought unnecessary, or even harmful, if we may believe Euripides, on the ground that "the well-educated deceive us more than the neglected." She was considered in all things inferior to man, and taught to regard herself so, and to confess as naively as did Iphigenia, that "one man is worth a myriad women." Even Plato makes her morally inferior to man, and says she must be so much the more restrained; while Aristotle declares that her intellectual ability differs from that of man not only in degree, but also in kind, and that she never can attain to any position higher or other than that of an inferior and subject member of the household. Hence all her life-long she was treated and by law considered as a minor, and as truly only a part of the family property as was the merest slave, over whom the father, or the husband, had absolute and sole authority.

If this was the condition of the woman before marriage, that event wrought but little change in it for the better. It was nothing more than her transference from the ownership of her father to the ownership of her husband; from her being a piece of property in one family, to occupying a similar position in another. And this in Rome as well as in Greece; though in the former the actual condition of woman, both before and after marriage, was in many respects much superior to that in the latter. Whereas the Roman wife was confined to no special separate apartments in her house, always took her meals with her husband, and was not seldom a participant even in the banquets of the men; the Greek was rigidly confined to the gynækonitis, which was wholly cut off from the rest of the house, and which her husband entered as rarely as she left it, while no other man ever crossed its threshold; she never appeared at the table if any other man besides her husband was present; while from all feasts and entertainments he might give she was invariably excluded. The Roman woman, maid and matron, might always be seen, with the men, at the public theatre; the Grecian never. The former was limited in going abroad only by her own inclination and general custom; of the latter, says an eminent authority, "it was considered unbecoming



for the young wife to leave the house without her husband's knowledge; and in fact she seldom quitted it; she was thus restricted for the most part to the society of her female slaves; and her husband, if he chose to exercise it, had the power of keeping her in confinement." Before the law, both were minors; neither could own any property, or conclude any bargain, or transaction of any consequence on her own account; it was even enacted, in Greece at least, that anything that a man did by the counsel or request of a woman should be null and void. Of course, then, such a legal nonentity could neither bequeath nor inherit anything. Not even her relationships were acknowledged. When she left her family and entered her husband's, she severed all ties of connection with the former. Her parents were no kin to her children, and had no social or legal connection with them other than with any strangers. So that, although there was a difference in the relative dignity and esteem which Roman and Grecian wives severally enjoyed, in all essentials their condition was equally degraded, according to modern ideas. Of both their husbands could say with literal truth, what Petruchio boasted of his wife:—

"She is my goods, my chattels; she is my house,  
My horse, my ox, my ass; my anything."

And both would humbly confess, not only with the thoroughly tamed Katharine, that

"Such duty as the subject owes the prince  
Even such a woman oweth to her husband;"

but also with mother Eve, or at least with Milton's report of her avowal to Adam,—

"What thou biddest  
Unargued I obey; so God ordains:  
God is thy law; thou mine: to know no more  
Is woman's happiest knowledge, and her praise."

That on such a basis of inequality between the sexes no true home could exist seems self-evident. Or if not, history has fully demonstrated it, in the case of the classic nations of old as fully as in that of individuals, for example of Milton, who found out to his sorrow the falseness and folly of the heathenish doctrine, that

"God's universal law  
Gave to the man despotic power  
Over his female in due awe,  
Nor from that right to part an hour,  
Smile she or lower."

Perhaps the impossibility of maintaining a home upon such a

principle is best proved by merely showing how it opened wide the door through which entered the whole ravening pack of domestic and social evils which in a few centuries utterly destroyed not only the entire domestic system of the ancient civilization, but its whole social fabric, and so undermined that civilization itself that it needed but a push from without, lustily given by the healthy and strong barbarians of the north, to overturn and lay in ruins the whole rotten structure, with all its proud memories and gilded remnants of magnificence.

Persuade a man that he has "despotic power," puff him up with the notion of irresponsible superiority, and he ceases to be a man. Such a creature can only be an animal; call the animal a Paris if you will, he is still the animal whose beastly instincts rob Menelaus of his wife, the beautiful Helen; or call it a hero Achilles, or a King Agamemnon, the quarrel of the two is still but the quarrel of two passion-blind animals over their prey, the fair Briseis, and

"Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring  
Of woes unnumber'd,"

but the fury of an animal foiled in the gratification of its eager appetite. And this, with open concubinage, even in the comparatively pure Homeric age. Later it became even worse. And in the golden days of Greek and Roman refinement, Demosthenes openly expressed the general sentiment when he declared: "We have hetairai for our pleasure, wives to bear us children and to care for our households." When wrong is not considered wrong 'tis doubly wrong. Domestic infidelity on the part of the husband was deemed no wrong, but only natural; while most wives seem, from the force of necessity, to have answered Doctor Johnson's definition of "wise married women," because they did not "trouble themselves about infidelity in their husbands." Consequently the hetairai of Greece, sanctioned by law, formed no inconsiderable part of the female population. Under such circumstances husband and wife alike soon became more and more demoralized. Marriage degenerated into a civil contract; and this into what, at Rome, was called "free marriage." Both these forms, and especially the latter, were very loose bonds indeed, that could be dissolved by either party upon the slightest pretexts. Says the author of "Gesta Christi": "Separation could be legally caused by either party, by a desire to divorce expressed in writing. Women made use of this even more than men. At the close of the Republic the license was frightful. Augustus attempted in

vain to struggle with it by legal enactments. The Julian Law deprived women of their *dos* who provoked divorce, but without effect. Seneca speaks of *quotidiana repudia*, daily divorces; and in another well-known passage, of the illustrious and noble-born women who reckon their years not by the number of the consuls, but by that of their husbands. Juvenal's epigram is well known, of the woman who had eight husbands in five years; . . . and later, Tertullian represents divorce as the very purpose and end of Roman marriage." We know from history that men as great as Pompey, Sylla, Cæsar, Antony, Augustus, and others like them, were all divorced men; and even so professedly pure and upright a man as Cicero repudiated his wife of thirty years, and married his wealthy young ward, only soon after to divorce her too. In short, the whole domestic order lay shattered and in ruins, and society was in a condition utterly depraved and abandoned, threatening a complete reversal to the domestic communism and promiscuity of the most primitive barbarism.

To trace the operation of the various and complex forces to which we owe the more enlightened conception and constitution of domestic life and relations which prevail among us, so totally different from those of the ancients at which we have glanced, would be a task too great for the limits of this article. We must, however, at least mention a few of the factors that have been most potent in the process.

Attention has already been called to the decadence of the once dominant family-idea with its almost absolute authority. Its decline is thus explained by Sir Henry Maine: He shows how it became necessary for father and son to perform their civil and military functions on a footing of equality wholly unlike their domestic footing; and how the consequent separate acquisition of authority, power, spoils, etc., by the son, gradually undermined the paternal despotism. Individuals of the family, no longer working together only in their unlike relations to one another, and coming to work together under like relations to state authority and to enemies, the public coöperation and subordination grew at the expense of the private. That is, increasing diversity in the political environment and relations gradually brought about a similar diversity of duties, responsibilities, and feelings, in the family and between its members.

Probably still more potent were the influences arising from the great and important changes wrought in society by the rise and rapid advances of industrialism, with its complexity of relations.

Of this Herbert Spencer says, in his "Principles of Sociology": "The discipline which brings greater recognition of the claims of fellow-men, brings greater recognition of the claims of women and children. The practice of consulting the wills of those with whom there is coöperation outside the household, brings with it the practice of consulting the wills of those with whom there is coöperation inside the household. The marital relation becomes changed from one of master and subject into one of approximately equal partnership; while the bond becomes less that of legal authority and more that of affection. The parental and filial relation ceases to be a tyranny which sacrifices child to parent, and becomes one in which, rather, the will of the parent subordinates itself to the welfare of the child." It was with the rise of a more complex industrialism that those important changes in Roman law were made by which *contract* took the place of *status* in regulating the affairs and relations of men; a change which, though working much temporary evil as applied to the marriage relation, yet on the whole was a most important element in the emancipation of woman.

But the most potent factor by far in the evolution of the modern home out of the ancient family was Christianity. Its influence was more fundamental than that of any other force. Not content with lopping off a branch here and there in the social organism, it laid the axe at the root of the tree. It went to the source and bottom of things, by revolutionizing, not only laws and customs and outward relations, but the spirit underlying these, the principles and modes of human thought, the motives of human life, the basis and standard of private and public, domestic and social, morals. First of all, it gave the final deathblow to the tyranny of the old family-idea by establishing the principle of equal and unconditional individual responsibility. All its commands are addressed directly to the individual. The individual alone is accountable to God; and for his individual conduct only. Its rewards and punishments are promised to each individual. It treats not with corporations, but directly and only with individual human souls, free, self-determining, moral agents. And under its régime "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female." In strict consistency with this basal principle, which makes woman man's equal in dignity and responsibility, is all the teaching of Christianity with reference to marriage. As says Doctor Thwing in his recent work on "The Family": "The Church of God is the bride, and Christ the husband.

Marriage was thus in the New Testament associated with the most sacred observances and truths. It was more than a sensual or sexual relationship. It was a union of heart, a communion of life. It was a love stronger than the love of child for parent. It was a bond which only death could normally sever. It was a sacrament which was typed by the relations of Christ and the Church." It gave the wife rights as well as duties. And we are not surprised that already in the early Church, wherever this new preaching prevailed, "women were beloved and respected. Christian Rome, it is affirmed, could count more heroines than pagan Rome could count heroes. No union between the sexes, save that of a life-long attachment, was suffered. The word *concubina*, or *concubinalis*, is never found on the grave of the Christian wife." Thus Christianity elevated marriage to be something more and nobler than merely a means for perpetuating the family; and gave to woman a sphere, in the home and in society, higher and broader far than that of motherhood alone.

With the household thus brought into immediate contact with the multitude of industrial, social, political, and other forces and influences, and with the rapid increase of these in number and complexity, it was only a question of time when, in adjusting itself to the new environment, its original comparative simplicity of arrangement and relations between its individual members themselves, and between them and the outside world, should attain to a correspondingly varied and complex character—such as are its present character and constitution. The very complexity of our modern home-architecture, the amount and variety of furniture, household utensils, and articles of comfort and luxury, the mysteries of a modern wardrobe, and the immense increase of our domestic wants and expenses, are sufficiently indicative of the marvelous growth that has been attained from simplicity to variety in our domestic life; for they imply a complexity of relations utterly unknown in the ancient family. Whereas then the wife had hardly any duties outside of those to her husband and children, all confined to the little circle of her household; now her duties are almost co-extensive with those of the husband himself. Her rights have been extended at least to an equal degree. She can go wherever she pleases, and do whatever she pleases. She can carry on any business or profession she may choose. She may do wellnigh anything that man does, except vote and join the army. From childhood up her education is essentially the same as that enjoyed by her brothers. Everywhere she has the same liberty, and, in fact,

enjoys privileges that are denied him. Before the law the wife is recognized as in nearly every respect the equal of the husband. "Generally speaking," to quote the words of a legal authority, "husband and wife have been placed on a footing of substantial equality so far as property rights are concerned,—the wife holding her property as absolutely and as independently as her husband holds his property; it being hers as fully as his is his, to invest, to spend, to give away, to dispose of by will. Neither can give a clear title to real estate without the signature of the other. With this exception, neither has any control over the property of the other during the life of both; but at the death of either, the survivor has rights in the estate of which he or she cannot be deprived by will."

But why pursue the subject further? In every phase of it we see verifications of the saying quoted at the beginning of this article, that as the unit of ancient society was the family, so the unit of modern society is the individual. The truth is so patent, that, far from any one denying it, not a few are deeply concerned and alarmed at it. They note how from the beginning there has been a process of steady disintegration going on in the domestic life of man, by which it has been growing from a condition of relatively indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to one of relatively more definite, coherent heterogeneity. That is to say, according to our comparison, while in ancient Greece and Rome the family had already attained to a considerable degree of definiteness, yet its internal relations, the duties and responsibilities of its members to one another, as well as its relations to society and the state, were still comparatively uncertain, vague, and undefined; there was, moreover, a lack of close and strong coherence between the various households themselves, and especially between the members of each household, the marriage bond being weak, and practically binding only the wife; finally, there was relatively great simplicity in the domestic life and arrangements, little variety of occupation, comparatively few duties and fewer rights and responsibilities belonging to the family in its outer relations, or to its members as individuals. On the contrary, the large family group of old has become disintegrated in modern times into smaller but much more clearly defined clusters, with very definite relations, duties, and responsibilities; the disintegration of the family has given rise to the home. This home-relation is very coherent, the marriage-tie commonly enduring for life, and binding all the individual members closely and lastingly together with the bonds of pure affection. Then, the relations of these individuals have be-



come exceedingly many and various, implying great heterogeneity of occupation, duties, rights, and responsibilities. Moreover, the tendency is marked to ignore the home as a corporate body ever more and more in our legislation, and to recognize only the individual; or, rather, there is a tendency to relieve the home more and more of its corporate duties to its members, and to make society or the state assume such duties. Already the state has assumed the family function of educating the children; the church still further takes from the home the work of the religious education of its children by the institution of the Sunday-school; while society, by its hospitals, asylums, homes, etc., in which it cares for the sick, insane, homeless, poor, and friendless, is taking upon itself a responsibility which strictly belongs to the home.

It is in view of such facts that some are becoming alarmed. Where will this disintegration end? they ask. The socialistic tendencies of the times seem to be, so far, coöperating with the prevalent individualism, that, by absolving the family more and more of its proper duties and responsibilities, they by so much loosen every family bond, make separation easier, and free husband, wife, and children more and more from all home relations. The alarmed recognition of this fact, and the earnest protests that are being made against it by thoughtful men, are themselves a sure indication that the extreme of the disintegrating tendency is being reached, and that, to use the words of Mr. Spencer, "we may expect a recoil towards that medium state in which there has been finally lost the compound family-group, while there is a renovation of the family-group proper, composed of parents and offspring." Mr. Spencer bases this conclusion on the known operations of the law of rhythm in the past. If in accordance with that law we have already been carried a little too far in the work of individuation, and are reaping the evil results in the present temporary obscuring of the holy light of home, and the prevalent laxity of the marriage-tie, we are sure that, according to the same law, we will ere long swing back and settle down in the safe and golden medium state, in which love shall be law, and where shall finally be realized the true, ideal home.

Of one thing at least we may be certain, that there will be no retrogression from the great end towards which all influences have been tending from the first, namely, the complete development of a symmetrical, harmonious, blessed manhood and womanhood. This can be attained only through the perfect satisfaction and fulfillment of the divinely implanted functions of each. And this neither can do without the other; and neither by interfering

with the other; but each only by free and spontaneous coöperation with the other. In order to this is the true home, the one spot on earth where man and woman may meet, and each freely, fully exercise the rights of each, and so by fulfilling the law of their own being, fulfill also the will and law of their God. This is the great end and aim of home, to which all others are subordinate; the perpetuation of the race, the protection of the young and feeble, their education and training, physical, intellectual, and moral, and whatever else there may be, they are but the concomitants, the necessary results, of the fulfillment of this first and essential purpose. In such a home, where the strong, dignified, and free man-nature, unhindered, coalesces and coöperates with the equally free, strong, and dignified woman-nature, will reign the highest bliss vouchsafed on earth: for perfect love shall fill it.

"A love that shall be new and fresh each hour,  
As is the golden mystery of sunset,  
Or the sweet coming of the evening star,  
Alike, and yet most unlike, every day,  
And seeming ever best and fairest now;  
A love that doth not kneel for what it seeks,  
But faces Truth and Beauty as their peer,  
Showing its worthiness of noble thoughts  
By a clear sense of inward nobleness;  
A love that in its object findeth not  
All grace and beauty, and enough to sate  
Its thirst of blessing, but, in all of good  
Found there, it sees but Heaven-granted types  
Of good and beauty in the soul of man;  
And traces, in the simplest heart that beats,  
A family-likeness to its chosen one,  
That claims of it the rights of brotherhood."

"This is the true nature of Home," to quote, in closing, the beautiful words of Ruskin; "it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division. In so far as it is not this, it is not home. . . . But so far as it is a sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over by Household Gods, before whose faces none may come but those whom they can receive with love, — so far as it is this, and roof and fire are types only of a nobler shade and light, — shade as of the rock in a weary land, and light as of the Pharos in the stormy sea; — so far it vindicates the name, and fulfills the praise, of home."

*J. Max Hark.*

LANCASTER, PENN.

## EDITORIAL.

## THE HYMN AFTER THE SERMON.

IN discussing at various times the subject of worship we have uniformly protested against the domination of the entire service by the sermon. We reiterate this protest as we now seek to reclaim, to the rightful support and control of the sermon, so much of the service as may follow it. Nothing is more certain to narrow the religious culture of a congregation than the continuous subordination of its worship to the immediate thought or mood of the minister as preacher. Some ministers seem to be regardless of their priestly functions as they enter the pulpit. They are, from first to last, simply preachers. They read the Scriptures, they select the hymns, they pray, with the sermon uppermost in their minds. Doubtless some who offend in this matter do so from a false craving for unity in the service. A true unity comes out of the recognition of all the interests concerned in the act of worship. That is not a real unity which is gained by the exclusion of any experience in the spiritual life of a congregation, however remote it may be from the subject of a given discourse. It is the office of the minister, as the leader of the congregation, to gather up all those spiritual experiences which are common to it, and to utilize them for the impression which he wishes to effect through the sermon. We doubt if anything is gained for the sermon by formally relating all the parts of the service to it, especially by relating the anthem and the hymns which precede. The indirect support of hymns which awaken genuine religious feeling, or which express it, is often far more effective than a support which is more obvious and formal.

But having repeated this much in the way of protest against the exorbitant demands of the sermon upon the service, we urge with equal force the right of the sermon to the parts which follow it, especially to the concluding hymn, whether preceding or following the closing prayer. In the order of worship in all the churches, liturgical and non-liturgical, the culmination of the service, in interest and impression, is reached in the sermon. Whatever follows should harmonize perfectly with it. No new note should be struck. But this is done, in nine out of ten times, when an anthem or selection is introduced after the sermon. Not infrequently the impression of a sermon is quite dissipated by the inaptness of a "choir selection." The partial remedy for this might be found in the consultation of the minister and organist, or choir-leader, but the range of appropriate "selections" is far less than that of appropriate hymns. There are *preaching* hymns which take up the sermon and carry it, in its motive and spirit, to the highest plane of devotion. The number of such hymns is much greater than preachers seem to be aware of, judging from the narrowness of the selections commonly made, and from the common opinions expressed in regard to variety in the use of hymns. It is not infrequently claimed by ministers that a hundred hymns will practically cover

the actual needs of a congregation, both for expression and impression. We believe that the number of genuinely good hymns is greatly underestimated. Grant that there are not more than six or seven hundred of real lyric merit in the language, grant that some of these belong to times and seasons, grant that of the remainder some are very much better than others, and ought to be used more frequently, still we think that there may be a large increase in the number of hymns for practical and effective use in all parts of the service. And we wish to illustrate this statement by reference to hymns of a single class, namely, *preaching* hymns, hymns which are worthy of a place after the sermon, for their direct incitement to duty, or to penitence and faith. We assume the constant use of the old and familiar hymns of this class. These can never be superseded, but in some cases they may be fitly complemented, in other cases they may be fairly matched, and in a few cases they are excelled by the later or less familiar lyrics of the Church. We designate a few hymns for the purpose of comparison.

No hymn is more commonly or more effectively used to express Christian joy and exultation than Sir John Bowring's —

"In the cross of Christ I glory."

We do not hesitate to put beside it, for reality of Christian expression or for effect, if sung to the tune of Hendon, the less familiar hymn of Kennedy, —

"Ask ye what great thing I know  
That delights and stirs me so?  
What the high reward I win?  
Whose the name I glory in?  
Jesus Christ the crucified."

The oft-repeated call to watchfulness under temptation,

"My soul, be on thy guard,"

is fully equalled, if not surpassed, by the startling strains from St. Andrew of Crete, —

"Christian! dost thou see them  
On the holy ground?  
How the powers of darkness  
Rage thy steps around?  
Christian, up and smite them!  
Counting gain but loss,  
In the strength that cometh  
By the Holy Cross."

Hymns of Christian service like —

"A charge to keep I have,"

or

"Father of mercies, send Thy grace,"

have received a much needed and most delightful addition in the hymn of Washington Gladden, —

"O Master, let me walk with Thee,  
In lowly paths of service free :  
Tell me Thy secret, help me bear  
The strain of toil, the fret of care ;"

in that of Miss Lockwood, —

"Saviour, who Thy life didst give,  
That our souls might ransomed be,  
Rest we not, till all the world  
Hears that love and turns to Thee ;"

and in Samuel Longfellow's —

"O still in accents sweet and strong  
Sounds forth the ancient word,  
'More reapers for white harvest fields,  
More laborers for the Lord.'"

Among hymns of invitation the somewhat rhetorical hymn of Joseph Grigg, —

"Behold a stranger at the door !"

is certainly surpassed in reality and tenderness by the less familiar hymn of W. W. How (to the tune of St. Edith) —

"O Jesus, Thou art standing  
Outside the fast closed door,"

and by others of a similar tone : —

"To-day Thy mercy calls me  
To wash away my sin ;"

or

"Come to the Saviour now,  
He gently calleth Thee ;"

or

"Was there ever kindest shepherd  
Half so gentle, half so sweet ?"

Of hymns which express the response of the soul, two from recent writers are specially worthy of note for the contrast they offer in the tone of the response. In the hymn of Miss Elliott we have, in the refrain of each stanza, the joy of welcome.

"Thou didst leave Thy throne and Thy kingly crown,  
When Thou camest to earth for me ;  
But in Bethlehem's home was there found no room,  
For Thy holy nativity.  
*O come to my heart, Lord Jesus : O come,  
There is room in my heart for Thee.*"

In the hymn of Palgrave we have the plaintive questioning of the soul under the summons to faith and consecration.

"Thou say'st, 'Take up thy cross,  
O man, and follow Me :'  
The night is black, the feet are slack,  
Yet we would follow Thee.

But, O dear Lord, we cry,  
That we Thy face could see !  
Thy blessed face one moment's space —  
Then might we follow Thee."

No recent hymns on the Atonement are at all comparable for grandeur with Zinzendorf's hymn, in Wesley's translation, —

"Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness  
My beauty are, my glorious dress ;"

or with Toplady's "Rock of Ages ;" but it is pleasant to note the recovery to modern use of Bernard's Passion hymn,

"O Sacred Head now wounded ;"

and to welcome, from Dr. Holmes,

"O Love Divine, that stooped to share  
Our sharpest pang, our bitterest tear,"

and from Mrs. Alexander,

"When wounded sore, the stricken soul  
Lies bleeding and unbound,  
One only hand, a pierced hand,  
Can heal the sinner's wound.

Lift up Thy bleeding hand, O Lord,  
Unseal that cleansing tide :  
We have no shelter from our sin  
But in Thy wounded side."

There has been a manifest want in hymnology of hymns expressive of the present power and working of the Holy Spirit. The comparatively unknown, or at least unused, hymn of Thomas Hornblower Gill in part supplies this lack.

"Our God ! our God ! Thou shinest here  
Thine own this latter day :  
To us Thy radiant steps appear ;  
We watch Thy glorious way.

Come, Holy Ghost ! in us arise :  
Be this Thy mighty hour !  
And make Thy willing people wise  
To know Thy day of power."

What more fitting close of a service, after a sermon on duty in its relation to God, than in the rendering of this hymn, so full of assurance and of confident petition ?

We cannot refrain from calling attention to the noble hymn of J. Julian as a positive contribution to the number of missionary hymns. (It should be sung to the tune of Koenig.)

"O God of God ! O Light of Light,  
Thou Prince of Peace, Thou King of Kings."

Especially the second stanza, —



" Nations afar, in ignorance deep :  
 Isles of the sea, where darkness lay :  
 These hear His voice, they wake from sleep,  
 And throng with joy the upward way.  
 They cry with us, ' Send forth Thy Light,  
 O Lamb, once slain for sinful men :  
 Burst Satan's bonds, O God of Might,  
 Set all men free ! ' Amen, Amen ! "

One of the richest inheritances from the Mediæval Church is Bernard's hymn of Heaven in its many parts, and with its sweet refrain —

" O sweet and blessed country,  
 The Home of God's elect !  
 O sweet and blessed country,  
 That eager hearts expect ! "

But we may surely place beside it, as not unworthy of its companionship, Bishop Wordsworth's —

" Hark the sound of holy voices  
 Chanting at the crystal sea, "

and Dean Alford's —

" Ten thousand times ten thousand  
 In sparkling raiment bright, "

and Mrs. Alexander's —

" The roseate hues of early dawn,  
 The brightness of the day,  
 The crimson of the sunset sky,  
 How fast they fade away !  
 Oh, for the pearly gates of heaven,  
 Oh, for the golden floor,  
 Oh, for the sun of righteousness,  
 That setteth never more. "

This last hymn, when sung to the tune of *Castle Rising*, is peculiarly effective through the change in sentiment from the first four lines of each stanza to the last four.

The list might be continued far beyond the space at our command. We are confident that there are two hundred hymns which are worthy of a place after the sermon, which are entirely appropriate to the themes of the pulpit, and which have power to enforce its highest and most urgent appeals. Without invading the field of hymns of praise, or of times and seasons, or that of general hymns, we are sure that at least this number might be selected to be properly classed as preaching hymns. And many of these are out of place under any other classification, and are comparatively useless in any other capacity than in support of the sermon. Why should we not use them with breadth and freedom and according to their design and power? Why, in any event, should we allow the indifferent and often unmeaning " choir selection " to usurp their rightful place?

## THE ORDINATION OF MR. NOYES AS A FOREIGN MISSIONARY.

THE recent action of a Congregational Council in ordaining Mr. William Horace Noyes as a foreign missionary is of widespread interest, both on account of his repeated rejection by the Prudential Committee of the American Board, and also on account of his proposed entrance on missionary work under the direction of one of the churches of Boston. We therefore present a statement of the action which has been taken and of such circumstances as have important relation to it.

The ordaining council was convened by the following Letter Missive : —

The Berkeley Street Congregational Church, Boston, to the ——— Congregational Church of ———, sendeth greeting :

DEAR BRETHREN: — Mr. William H. Noyes, a member of this Church, and for more than a year its assistant pastor, has communicated to us his desire to enter under our direction the foreign missionary service, and to be ordained for this purpose.

Cordially accepting his offer to be our missionary, and approving his request for ordination, we affectionately invite you to be present by your pastor and a delegate at the Berkeley Street Church, corner Berkeley Street and Warren Avenue, Boston, on Monday, October 22, instant, at 3 o'clock P. M., to examine the candidate, to review our proceedings, and if judged expedient to assist in the ordination exercises.

Wishing you grace, mercy, and peace, we are

Fraternally yours,

CHARLES A. DICKINSON, *Pastor.*

S. BRAINARD PRATT,

BENJAMIN F. DEWING,

JOSEPH A. TORREY,

FRANCIS G. PRATT, JR.,

WILLIAM H. BRAINERD,

BARNA S. SNOW,

EDWARD A. ROBINSON,

*Committee of the Church.*

Boston, October 17, 1888.

## CHURCHES INVITED.

Boston, Park Street ; Boston, Old South ; Boston, Central ; Boston, Mt. Vernon ; Boston, Union ; Boston, Shawmut ; East Boston, Maverick ; South Boston, Phillips ; Charlestown, First ; Charlestown, Winthrop ; Roxbury, Immanuel ; Roxbury, Highland ; Roxbury, Eliot ; Brookline, Harvard ; Cambridge, First ; Cambridge, North Avenue ; Cambridgeport, First ; Cambridgeport, Pilgrim ; Somerville, Winter Hill ; Dorchester, Harvard ; Andover, Chapel ; the Church of Christ in Amherst College.

Also the following persons : —

Rev. Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D., New Haven, Conn. ; Rev. George P. Fisher, D. D., LL. D., New Haven, Conn. ; Rev. William E. Merriman, D. D., Boston, Mass. ; Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D., Congregational House ; Rev. Wm.

Burnet Wright, D. D., New Britain, Conn.; Rev. Wm. J. Tucker, D. D., Andover, Mass.; and Rikizo Nakashima, Japan.

Rev. J. T. Duryea, D. D., was chosen Moderator, and Rev. Nehemiah Boynton Scribe of the Council. Letters were presented from the Pilgrim Church of Cambridgeport and the Eliot Church of Roxbury, stating that they had declined the invitation to be represented on the Council, as they do not approve the policy of sending out independent missionaries. Two other churches were not represented but sent no communication. A letter was received from Professor Fisher expressing regret that he could not be present, and approving the proposed action. Rev. Dr. Wright and Mr. Nakashima were not present.

Mr. S. B. Pratt, representing the Berkeley Street Church, gave an account of the circumstances which led to the action of the church in calling the Council. At the monthly concert of the church, held during the session of the American Board in Cleveland, an appeal from Japan for additional missionaries, which had been printed in the "Missionary Herald," was read. The appeal made a deep impression on some of the young people of the church, and at their own meeting, a few days later, the desire was generally expressed that the Berkeley Street Church might send a missionary to Japan, and, as it was well known that Mr. Noyes, recently their assistant pastor, earnestly wished to enter the foreign field, that he might be such missionary of the church. It was then unanimously voted that the church be requested to make such arrangements as should be necessary to send Mr. Noyes to Japan. This action, accompanied by a request to the same effect from Mr. Noyes, was submitted to the deacons, through whom the proposal was communicated to the church with a recommendation that it be acceded to. At a fully attended meeting it was unanimously voted that a council be called to ordain Mr. Noyes to be a foreign missionary under the direction of the church. Mr. Pratt narrated several interesting facts to show the spontaneity and enthusiasm of the whole movement on the part of the young people and of the church. It was also stated that a sufficient sum had been subscribed to support Mr. and Mrs. Noyes in mission work for a series of years, and that the whole amount was from persons not members of that church and residing in several States. It also appeared that the annual collection for the American Board, which was taken while this movement was in progress, was fifty per cent. in advance of last year's contribution. Mr. Pratt's statement is printed in full elsewhere in the REVIEW.

After some debate in the Council on general questions involved, it was voted to proceed to the examination of the candidate. Mr. Noyes then read an extended statement of his Christian experience and doctrinal beliefs, which, together with questions and answers which followed, is printed in full in another part of the REVIEW. It appeared that he was born of missionary parents on missionary soil, and from a boy had looked forward to being himself a foreign missionary. His final decision was made while he was a student in the Theological Seminary at An-

dover. Although repeated applications to the officers of the American Board had been unsuccessful, he had not relinquished his purpose, but had become strengthened in it. In reply to questions Mr. Noyes said that if the way should be opened for him to become a missionary of the American Board he would be willing to accept appointment, and for some reasons would prefer going in that way. He also said that he was ready to go to some other country than Japan if it should appear best. The Council was deeply impressed with Mr. Noyes's thorough consecration to the missionary work.

His statement of doctrinal belief indicated his position on the Christian doctrines of God in His existence, personality, righteousness, love, and Fatherhood, of Sin, of the Person and Work of Christ, of the Scriptures, of Regeneration, of Sanctification, of the final Judgment, of the Sacraments, and of the Church and Kingdom of God. He afterwards expressed his accord with the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the creed of the Berkeley Street Church, the creed of the Evangelical Alliance, and of the Congregational Creed Commission. In all respects his opinions were seen to be in accord with the beliefs held in common by evangelical churches. Concerning those who do not hear the message of God in this life he said : —

"I trustfully leave them to God. I do not claim to know God's method of dealing with them, but I do not refuse to think about them. I entertain in their behalf what I conceive to be a reasonable hope — that somehow, before their destinies are fixed, there shall be revealed to them the love of God in Christ Jesus. In this, as in every question to which God has given no distinct answer, I merely claim the liberty of the gospel."

The only questions asked pertained to the statement above quoted, and in reply Mr. Noyes reiterated the same opinion, that he entertains a hope, which he characterized as a reasonable hope, that those who do not have the message of the gospel in this life may hear it before the final judgment of all men. He repeatedly declared that he has no dogmatic conviction to be ranked with his established beliefs, but entertains a hope which the Scriptures do not preclude. Various alternatives, which were put before him in written questions carefully worded, failed to elicit any other reply. He could not promise to be silent concerning this hope if he believed the expression of it would be helpful to a perplexed mind. He said, in reply to pointed questions, that he was not aware that his present explanations are different in any essential respect from the statements he had made on the same subject to the Home Secretary of the American Board or to its Prudential Committee. The paper read to the Council is more adequate and clear, he said, only because it is more fully elaborated on all the leading doctrines of the gospel. But he had said more than in this paper to the Secretaries on future probation because he had been long and closely catechized on that subject.

The Council, having voted to be by itself, withdrew to the lecture-room and continued there debating the request of the church more than three

hours. The time was chiefly occupied, however, not on the main issue, but on the proposal to open a way for the reconsideration of Mr. Noyes's application by the Prudential Committee of the American Board. It was immediately seen that all the members of the Council considered that Mr. Noyes is an eminently suitable person to be a foreign missionary, and that his request should in some way be granted. No one made the slightest objection to his doctrinal opinions. No one could see any reason why he should not have been appointed by the officers of the American Board. No voice was raised in justification of his rejection by those officers, while many expressed feelings of strong indignation in view of the treatment to which he had been subjected. The only questions were, whether there was not still a possibility of securing his appointment by the Prudential Committee, and whether his ordination should or should not be deferred until another attempt had been made to obtain such appointment. Many expressed an unwillingness to take any ecclesiastical action which might be considered a reflection on the methods of the Board. All were solicitous that the Berkeley Street Church should not adopt a course which might bring it even into a seeming antagonism to the Board. All felt it to be important that no strain should be put upon the mutual relations of the churches. Yet all, or nearly all, were convinced that it was simple justice to Mr. Noyes that he should be ordained as a missionary and sent speedily to the field.

As the result of this full and frank comparison of views it was clearly seen that the Council had no power to advise Mr. Noyes to lay another request before the Board, inasmuch as the Council was not asked to give him any advice. Nor was it thought proper that in existing circumstances he should again take the initiative in relation to the Board. The Council certainly had no right to offer advice to the officers of the Board. Any advice given must be offered to the church which had called the Council. The church might properly be advised to solicit favorable action by the Prudential Committee. If, however, pending such an effort, the Council adjourned for a specified time, it might seem as if it were attempting to exercise supervision over the Prudential Committee, almost as if it were threatening the Committee. It was therefore decided to ordain Mr. Noyes as a foreign missionary, and to advise the church after the ordination to secure, if possible, his appointment by the American Board. If the advice should be adopted, as it quite certainly would be, and the request should be acceded to, Mr. Noyes would be transferred to the service of the Board, having already been ordained as a foreign missionary. If the attempt should fail, the church would then, with the hearty sanction of the Council, send Mr. Noyes under its own direction, and, as he would be already ordained, it would not be necessary to reconvene this Council or to call another. The duty to which it was invited having been fully discharged, the Council would be dissolved and have no further existence, either as a menace, or as contingently in possession of any power.

The following result was therefore adopted by a vote of 25 to 1 : —

*Voted*, That this Council expresses its satisfaction with the examination of Mr. W. H. Noyes, and that we proceed to ordain him as a foreign missionary, and advise this church to endeavor to secure an arrangement by which he can work under the same direction as the other ministers of the Congregational churches, and that, in case such an arrangement cannot be made, this church assume the responsibility of his direction and support.

The Council then proceeded to ordain Mr. Noyes, in accordance with the customs of Congregational churches, as a foreign missionary, and at the close of the public services the Council was dissolved.

While we regret deeply the circumstances which led to the necessity in this case of departing from the long-established custom of appointing missionaries by the American Board, we cannot fail to recognize several results which we think should be gratifying to all right-minded observers.

First of all, it must now be evident that not without sufficient reason has decided objection been taken to certain decisions of the Prudential Committee of the American Board. It was, indeed, a serious responsibility to criticise in the press and on the platform the deliberate action of that Committee. It has been additionally painful to be charged with making a needless and an unreasonable opposition. We and others were constrained to make protest because, knowing the men who were rejected, we felt a grievous wrong was done to them and to the cause of missions. Now, a large and intelligent council, representing various shades of doctrinal opinion, including many warm supporters of the Board, and well informed concerning all that has occurred, do with but a single dissenting voice declare it as their candid judgment that one of the rejected candidates (the only one before the Council) in respect both of character and of doctrine is entitled to appointment as a foreign missionary, and do proceed to ordain him to be a preacher of the gospel to the heathen. Their conviction of his right to engage in such service is so clear that they advise the church, in case the officers of the Board again decline to appoint him, to send him out as their missionary, although some members of the Council are decidedly opposed to the assumption of such a responsibility under ordinary circumstances by an individual church. We submit that the opposition we have made to the action of the Prudential Committee is sufficiently justified, and that we have not been disturbers of the peace without cause. We have held that there is no sacredness in any organization, however venerable and however useful in the past, which can be set against the right of individual believers to serve Christ according to their ability in the fields to which God calls them. We have held it our own right and duty to call in question decisions which seem to us unjustified, by which consecrated young men are denied the privilege of preaching the gospel. It should be gratifying even to those who have blamed us, to find that the first of the rejected candidates to be examined with reference to his qualifications as a missionary, has received the hearty indorsement of a council, some of whose members, in respect to the opinions in dispute, differ as widely from one another as the majority of the Pru-



dential Committee differ from the editors of this REVIEW. The ordination, a few months ago, of Mr. Torrey to the ministry was a partial justification of our course. The ordination of Mr. Noyes, after examination made with express reference to his appointment as a foreign missionary, is a complete justification. The refusal to appoint these two men in itself alone was reason enough for the course we have taken, even if no other candidate had been rejected, and if we did not also believe that many other young men would by such refusal be turned away from missionary service.

It is cause of gratification that a council of so much weight has recorded its judgment that foreign missionaries should have an equal liberty of opinion with ministers at home.

It is also a cause of gratification that the competency of councils to decide wisely on difficult cases has received another demonstration. We say this not merely because the result is in accordance with our own judgment, but in view of the spirit and method exhibited during the entire session. The result was by no means a foregone conclusion. There was the amplest opportunity for a frank expression of opinion. There were no signs of previous consultation on the part of any of the members as to the course of action. It was evident that every person present had at heart the interests of the churches, of missions, and of the candidate. To every member of the Council the kindly feeling of all, even of those who are accustomed to differ, was an impressive lesson in practical Christianity. We do not affirm that every council would act with so much Christian wisdom or so much mutual consideration. But we believe that whenever and wherever so serious a duty should be laid on a council which is as fairly and as numerously representative of a locality as this Council was, the result would be equally wise and Christian. We at any rate believe that the churches possess no agency which can so safely be trusted in important exigencies as a truly representative council which any single church is disposed to call together in its own vicinity. Particular decisions may be mistaken, but there is nothing better to be relied upon for human counsel than the spirit which can prevail in a fair-minded council charged with a serious responsibility.

We call attention to the fact that in respect to God's grace to those who die without knowledge of the gospel, the opinions of Mr. Noyes are essentially unchanged. The Council did not vote to ordain him because he had retracted or substantially modified his opinion on that subject. If that were the case, he could have applied again with entire confidence of favorable action to the Prudential Committee. He repeatedly affirmed that he had not consciously or intentionally changed his opinion or the statement of it. If his answers to the carefully framed questions asked by one of the Council put him on one or another side of a certain line, it only showed that he had stood on that side all along. If those questions had been asked two years ago they would doubtless have received

the same answers. If the answers gave new light to the questioner, they were perfectly consistent with the positions formerly taken by Mr. Noyes. We mention this, not as expressing satisfaction that there has been no change of opinion, but as a statement of fact to be understood in comparing the decision of the Council and of the Prudential Committee.

We notice in conclusion and with gratification the suitableness and propriety of the relation of the Berkeley Street Church to Mr. Noyes's appointment. As he was a member of that church, and had been its assistant pastor for more than a year, it was fitting for that church as it could have been for no other to take the necessary steps for his ordination. The only possible objection that could be made might arise from the assumption of additional pecuniary responsibility, especially as the church is aided in some of its enterprises from several outside sources. This objection entirely disappears in view of the fact that the expense of supporting Mr. and Mrs. Noyes as foreign missionaries is assumed by a number of persons, no one of whom is a member of the Berkeley Street Church or congregation.

We can but argue from the genuine consecration of Mr. Noyes, from his fitness for missionary work, and from the circumstances of his ordination, a good measure of success in his preaching of the gospel in some foreign land.

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Since the above article was put in type we learn that the Berkeley Street Church has already taken active measures to secure favorable action from the Prudential Committee, and we sincerely hope that the request will be granted.

## STATEMENTS MADE TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL

CONVENED BY THE BERKELEY STREET CHURCH, BOSTON, OCTOBER 22, 1888, TO ADVISE CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF MR. WILLIAM H. NOYES AS ITS FOREIGN MISSIONARY.

WE append to the account in our editorial pages of the proceedings of the recent Berkeley Street Church Council two important papers presented to that body, together with questions and answers which followed the reading of each.

### I.

STATEMENT OF THE BERKELEY STREET CHURCH READ TO THE COUNCIL BY MR. S. BRAINARD PRATT, CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

The Berkeley Street Church held its usual monthly concert of prayer for foreign missions on Friday evening, October 5, 1888, the pastor of the church being absent, attending the meeting of the American Board in Cleveland. At this meeting of prayer, a brother reporting from Japan read the following extracts from the August number of the "Missionary Herald." The letter from which the extract is taken was dated Matsuyama, May 19, 1888. It says:—

"The people of this prefecture, whether Christians or not, desire to have missionaries live among us, even as the hungry and thirsty desire food and water. In every direction and daily the persons desiring Christian instruction are increasing. Lifting their hands in entreaty, they are waiting for the story of the cross. . . . In the whole prefecture there is but one pastor—the pastor of the Matsuyama church—while of evangelists there are only seven,"—but with a surrounding population of a million and a half. "The not receiving missionaries to live among and work with us—can it be because our prayers are so insufficient, or because our faith is so weak? . . . We have indeed prayed and exercised our faith, but we have not yet received what we have sought. We now address ourselves directly to our friends on the other side of the great calm sea—the Pacific Ocean." They then give three reasons for asking for the missionaries:—

"First. We desire help in the school we established for young women in 1886. . . .

"Second. . . . Aid of missionaries in establishing a school for young men based on a Christian foundation. . . .

"Third. We desire to have a school for instruction in the Scriptures."

They close the letter with these words:—

"This desire for missionaries is not one of a single day and night only; it is a constant and unquenched thirst. Last summer we heard that the missionaries at their annual meeting had resolved to ask the American

Board to send missionaries to live in Matsuyama. On hearing this, we became so wild with joy that we hardly knew what we trod on with our feet, or what we grasped with our hands. Since then we have been waiting with outstretched necks looking across the wide sea for the realization of our hope. Ten months have elapsed since the annual meeting of the missionaries, and during that time the work in every department has rapidly developed. The time is ripe and the opportunity not to be lost.

"O brethren and sisters in America, have pity on us, we entreat you, and grant us this our hope and heart's desire!"

Signed by four Deacons of the Matsuyama Church.

Dr. Strong, the editor of the "Missionary Herald," says, "The letter states the case fully and fairly," and hopes "its moving appeal will be responded to speedily."

Some of our young people had also seen Dr. Alden's recent words about another province in Japan — "A Province without a Missionary" — where he said, "Never was there a time when earthly treasure could be so successfully and swiftly transferred into everlasting habitations."

The prayer of these four Deacons and that of Drs. Strong and Alden found a speedy response in the hearts of the young people at Berkeley Temple. Within twenty-four hours from the reading of that extract they had moved in the most direct way they could think of; and that was by a subscription paper having for its object the sending of a missionary to that destitute land.

Almost simultaneously with this paper, they addressed to the Board of Deacons the following request: —

BERKELEY TEMPLE, Oct. 9, 1888.

TO THE BOARD OF DEACONS OF BERKELEY TEMPLE.

DEAR SIRS, — At an executive meeting of the Berkeley Temple Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor held last evening, it was voted that the president of the Society be a committee of one to express to the Deacons the earnest desire of the young people of the church, that a council might be called for the purpose of ordaining Rev. Wm. H. Noyes as a missionary for the foreign field.

The president was requested also to convey to the Deacons the desire of the young people that Mr. Noyes might in some way go out to the field of Japan as the representative of Berkeley Street Church and society.

We have heard the urgent call that comes from that nation for the bread of life, and we know that it is the sincere desire of Mr. Noyes' heart to answer it. He was given by his parents to the missionary service in his youth. He chose that service for himself in early life and his education for years has been toward this one end. We have enjoyed his acquaintance and ministrations as assistant pastor in Berkeley Temple for thirteen months, and he has won for himself a large place in our affections because of his manly character, frank disposition, consecrated purpose, and missionary zeal. Through his influence some of us have been led to Christ, and all of us have been helped to lead better lives.

Hoping that the Deacons will see their way clear to respond favorably to this request,

I am, in behalf of the Society, very sincerely yours,

EDWARD A. ROBINSON,

*Pres. Y. P. S. of C. E.*

This letter was presented to the full board of Deacons on Wednesday evening, October 10th.

Mr. Noyes had been informed of the action of the young people and at once united his request with theirs in the following letter :—

BOSTON, MASS., *October 9, 1888.*

TO BERKELEY ST. CHURCH.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—I need not remind you of the delightful relation in which we have stood since our first acquaintance. I came to you at a time when both your future and mine were uncertain and not without their discouragements. For that very reason our hearts were the more closely knit together. My relation to you, as assistant pastor, was continued for over a year until you were fairly launched into your new methods of service.

While Mrs. Noyes and I were with you, and long previous, we cherished the hope and purpose of entering the foreign missionary service. This hope and purpose have never been surrendered. They were strengthened by your sympathy with them. We felt that your hearts and ours were one in the desire to preach the gospel to every creature. With the clear consciousness of our common aim, my special relation to you was ended in order that Mrs. Noyes and I might be free to enter the foreign work.

The weeks of separation from you have been weeks of anxious suspense as we waited for God to show us the way to our work. But we found no open way. Yet there kept coming the cry for helpers to preach the gospel to the heathen.

While still in perplexity, we learned that the young people of this church were desirous that we might be in some way their representatives in the foreign service. This desire came to us as a most welcome solution of our problem, for we could wish nothing better than to be once more co-workers with those who are our fellow church-members and with whom we have already had the most delightful companionship in Christian work. They, I am informed, have already submitted the matter to you for approval and have requested you to accept Mrs. Noyes and myself as your missionaries.

We on our part join in this request and hereby offer ourselves for foreign missionary service under your direction. We ask the privilege of carrying, as your representatives, the unsearchable riches of Christ to those that sit in darkness.

We do not ask this church to assume the responsibility of our pecuniary support. We believe that with what you may desire to do for this special object, ample additional means will be furnished by others as they have been for your work in this city.

If you receive this proposal favorably, will you take the steps necessary to give it your formal approval and to secure my ordination as a foreign missionary.

I remain, your brother in Christ,

WILLIAM H. NOYES.

The board of Deacons did not fail to carefully consider the importance of the requests thus made. They at once recognized the right of Mr. Noyes to make the request, and that it was equally the privilege and duty of the church to grant it. Nor did they see any cause for "serious apprehension" in its effect upon the "brotherhood of the churches" or the "unity of the denomination." Their sole and only desire was to "promote the cause of foreign missions both here and abroad." The result of their deliberation was a unanimous vote to advise the church to unite with Mr. Noyes in calling a council for his ordination as a foreign missionary.

This matter of sending Mr. Noyes as our missionary to a foreign field was not altogether new to some of our people. It has been upon the minds and hearts of some of us for many months. We had united our prayers with those of Mr. Noyes, that in some way, and at some time, the manner of his going might be made clear and plain to us and to him.

The spirit of our people may be inferred from the following incident:—

The pastor on his return from the meeting of the American Board preached a missionary sermon, and urged his people to respond to the call sent out from Cleveland for increased contributions. At the close of the sermon a young man said to him, "Cannot we possibly manage to send Mr. Noyes as our missionary? I will work over-hours and gladly give what I can earn in that way towards his support. And there are a good many young men in the church who feel as I do."

The spirit of the older members took this form. On the Sabbath next following the vote of the church to call this Council, the regular annual contribution for the work of the American Board was taken, and though it was a very stormy day, the pledges were more than fifty per cent. in advance of the previous year. The remark of that young man and that spirit of sacrifice had kindled anew our old desire to send Mr. Noyes to his chosen work, and at the same time it had not lessened our purpose to do what we could for missionaries already in the foreign field. But there were other reasons. Mr. Noyes had come to us, an entire stranger, in June, 1887. It seemed to us at the time that he was "sent of God"; for his coming was but one of the many strange providences which have marked the recent life of this church. His manly bearing and Christ-like zeal soon won all hearts, and the confidence we placed in him then has never been withdrawn.

Friday evening, October 12, the following request, signed by George H. Murray and one hundred others, was presented to the church:—

"We the undersigned, young people of Berkeley Street Church and Society, join in requesting the church to call an ecclesiastical council for the purpose of ordaining Mr. William H. Noyes as a missionary of the gospel in the foreign field, that he may thus represent us, in part, on that field."

At the same meeting the action of the Deacons (on the evening of the



10th) was reported to the church through their chairman, Deacon J. A. Haskell, and the following motion was offered:—

“That the church unite with Mr. William H. Noyes in calling an ecclesiastical council to ordain him as a missionary to the foreign field, and that a committee of seven be nominated by the Moderator to make all arrangements for the same. Attest, EDWARD A. GILMAN, clerk.”

Action was taken on this motion by a standing vote, and declared by the Moderator to be “unanimous.”

We have asked you, therefore, the brethren of sister churches, to come together for counsel and assistance—actuated by one thought and one hope—that we may advance Christ’s cause and obey his command to carry his Gospel to the “regions beyond.”

It is our desire to send Mr. Noyes directly to Japan—the call from which country is just now so loud and importunate. We know him so well that we can trust him to work in harmony with the missionaries already in that field. His aim, and the aim of the Church, is to be one in sympathy, purpose, and plan with those who are intent upon rescuing Japan from paganism. With his purpose to preach the gospel to the heathen, with the moral support of this church and council behind him, and with the financial support pledged for a series of years by friends outside, we are quite sure that the Lord will so adjust his relations to the missionary brethren in Japan that he will be able to work happily and effectively with them.

We would regard the denial of Mr. Noyes’s request as a great injury to the revival and missionary spirit of this church, and a serious hindrance to the work of evangelization which has already been successfully entered upon by our people. We believe that by being brought into direct touch with Japan through such a man as Mr. Noyes, we shall be inspired to larger action and zeal in behalf, not only of the foreign field, but of the unsaved in our own city. You will ask, we doubt not, as to the means for Mr. Noyes’s support.

Berkeley Temple aims to become an Institutional Church. It has many departments, and tries to reach out a helpful hand in many directions. It aims to bring its people into direct and loving touch with every phase of life which can be bettered by their influence. Much of its work is sustained by special contributions which are designated for special objects. A certain sum is designated by the donors for music. A certain sum is given by the guardians of the “Swett Fund” for city evangelization.<sup>1</sup> It is contemplated in due time to send an Evangelist into some of the weaker churches of New England country towns. He too is to be supported by contributions given for *that* purpose.

So in the case concerning which we have asked your presence. This church has had put into its hands a sum raised for the special purpose of

<sup>1</sup> Park Street Church receives for the same purpose an annual appropriation from this fund. The Berkeley Street Church receives no aid from the Home Missionary Society for its own support.

defraying the expenses of Mr. Noyes as our missionary in a foreign field. His support being thus pledged beforehand from responsible persons, will in no sense draw upon the contributions which are given for the work in this city.

We wish therefore to emphasize the fact, that we use no funds raised for the Berkeley Temple work in sending Mr. Noyes to Japan. The money would come to us in no other way, and for no other purpose.

I am authorized to say that a sum, amply sufficient for the *personal* support of Mr. and Mrs. Noyes in their work, for a series of years, has been pledged, and, I may add, from no one city or State.

After the reading of Mr. Pratt's paper, questions were addressed to him by members of the Council, which are here given, with his replies.

REV. DR. G. S. BURROUGHS. I would like to inquire what sum has been pledged for the support of Mr. and Mrs. Noyes, the number of years for which it has been pledged, and what assurance that the sum will be raised.

MR. PRATT. We can answer so far as this: Something over \$7,000 has been pledged for a series of years; you can make that two, three, or five years, I suppose.

DR. BURROUGHS. What proportion of that sum was pledged by the young people of Berkeley Street Church?

MR. PRATT. No proportion. The amount that the young people may give is very indefinite, and will probably be in the form of some personal manifestation of their love to Mr. Noyes.

DR. BURROUGHS. Do I understand that this action of the young people was spontaneous, without knowing that a subscription had been raised?

MR. PRATT. They started a subscription for that purpose previous to their knowing that any other sum had been raised. It was a spontaneous uprising of the young people of the church consequent on that letter and that appeal.

DR. BURROUGHS. Was it known to Mr. Noyes that they were going to do this or was it a surprise?

MR. PRATT. I do not think it was known to him.

DR. BURROUGHS. Was it known to the Board of Deacons?

MR. PRATT. It was spontaneous, and resulted entirely from the missionary concert and that letter.

DR. BURROUGHS. I would like to ask if this sum subscribed has been obtained since this meeting of the young people.

MR. PRATT. I cannot answer this question. I should judge that it has been, but I cannot answer it definitely. I had nothing to do with raising that sum of money. The amount has simply been stated to me by responsible persons.

DR. BURROUGHS. When did the subscription begin?

MR. PRATT. I do not know. This I can state, that it came from no one city and no one State.

## II.

## MR. NOYES'S STATEMENT.

## 1. STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.

I was born on missionary soil, the son of missionary parents. My richest heritage from them is the impulse their lives have given me toward self-denial and courage to do right. What they themselves practiced they were not slack in enforcing upon me. To be unselfish, to deny myself for others' good, was a lesson that was early impressed upon me.

The other early lesson of my life was that I must always obey my conscience. I remember as distinctly as though it were yesterday an occasion in my early years when my mother refused to take the place of my conscience, but bade me do what I myself thought was right. This early lesson to be independent in my moral choices did much to give me moral courage. The most distinct recollections of my boyhood days are those of scenes where I refused to go with my playmates into their wrong-doing. Ridicule only made me stubborn in sticking to the right. I was a boy through and through, with many of the faults of boyhood. I often was selfish and cowardly, but my early lessons in self-denial and independent moral choice were never forgotten, and they often made me uncomfortably prominent among my playmates.

In my fourteenth year I went through a struggle which resulted in my avowal of allegiance to Christ and my union with the church. I think I never doubted that I was a child of God. All the influences of a gentle home and a devoted mother kept me from going far astray, but I do not consider that I was a Christian until I resolved to confess Christ publicly. The duty of joining the church was my cross in beginning the Christian life.

Soon after this our home was broken up and I went away to school. The years that followed both in school and college were not remarkably interesting from a religious point of view. Although I lived among Christian people and was always regular at church services, I had but little joy in my religious life. I think the reason for its dullness during these years was largely due to the lack of proper study of the Bible. No opportunity for a thorough study of it was offered to me, and it was generally treated as an arsenal stored with ammunition against error. What little study I gave it was desultory. All this resulted in most crude notions of the purpose and use of Scriptures, so that when I entered Union Seminary in New York city and the truth began to come into contact with these crude and often boyish notions, I experienced a general shaking up of beliefs. It was only the scaffolding that gave way. The structure of my faith remained firm, but nevertheless I was much disturbed at the commotion. This was a year of deep depression.

Then followed my two years at Andover, years in which my Christian life grew deeper and progressed more rapidly than ever before. This I

lay to the charge of the beautiful Christian character as well as thorough discipline in the class-room of my beloved professors.

I was licensed to preach by the Essex South and Salem Association. My desire to enter the ministry is as old as my Christian life. To me the ministry has always seemed the most honorable of vocations. In my early days I knew no minister who was not worthy of my respect or who did not receive it. I was naturally, almost inevitably, led to choose this profession. My reason for entering the ministry was my conviction that in it I could "do the most good." Those were the words that I used when a boy, and I still cling to them. I want to do the most good. My motives in entering the ministry are Christ's love and my love for Him and for my fellow-men. My one purpose is to preach Christ and Him crucified.

Immediately after leaving the Seminary I came to this church to labor. My principal gain from the year's work here was the insight I acquired into character. I saw selfishness in its most foul and brutal and also in its most insidious forms. I learned to hate it with a deadly hatred. I felt as never before the absolute necessity for God's help to save us from our selfishness. I loathed the disease, but I knew the remedy, and God taught me here what it is to love sinners.

In the season of rest and quiet since the close of my work here, I have had the richest experiences of my life. More than ever I have longed for God and known God, have been touched more deeply by his love, have been made freer by his truth. It has been a season of anxious waiting for God to show me my work, but He has taught me how to wait. His providence has become a living truth in my experience. He has cared for me, has comforted me, has led me step by step over obstacle and through temptation, until I stand here ready to receive your sanction to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to those that sit in darkness. I believe that God in his providence has called me to enter the foreign missionary service. There are many elements that have entered into this call. Most of the influences that led me to choose the ministry inclined me long ago to the foreign missionary service. Moreover, it was the ardent wish of my parents that I should enter it. Mrs. Noyes, before I knew her, had desired to enter this work. It is one of the ties that has bound us together. I suppose that I have always entertained, more or less ardently, the hope of being a missionary, but I purposely left the question an open one till some three years ago. Then I calmly made up my mind to enter this service. I recognized the pressing need of the heathen for the gospel. I heard constant and urgent calls for helpers. I believed that I had qualifications which fitted me, with Christ, to be an efficient worker in the foreign field. More than that, I believed that there I could make the best use of my life. Neither Mrs. Noyes nor I were bound by ties such as often hinder others from going. The choice made at that time has never been regretted nor the purpose ever surrendered.

The end I have in view is to spread the leaven of the kingdom. This

includes the winning of men to accept my Saviour as their Saviour. It means also the permeating of society with the spirit of Christ. I desire to make both individuals and society happy and holy here and in eternity. I long for the triumph of the kingdom of Christ.

## 2. STATEMENT OF FAITH.

I believe in one living and true God, called in the Scriptures Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. My belief in the existence of God rests mainly on my consciousness of Him. Too often has a great light shined when my soul was in darkness for me not to know that there is light. My soul has too often thirsted and drank to doubt the fountain. I cannot analyze and formulate this my consciousness of God. My reason rejoices in proofs of God's existence, my heart is glad when I see moral forces at work in the world, forces which can only come from God who alone is good, but these are only other ways in which my soul recognizes God. Whether the evidence of God appeals to my intellect, my heart, or my will, it is I who believe.

The life of God is eternal and infinite. But because it is eternal it exists in time. Because it is infinite it is immanent in nature and in man. The whole creation is, I believe, an expression of the life of God.

I believe in a personal God. This I believe, first, because God is love. Love cannot exist apart from persons. I know that God is love from testimony, from observation, and from experience. I cannot measure his love nor sound its depths, but I know He is love. Because He is love He is also just and merciful. Without love He could be neither one nor the other. I believe in a personal God, secondly, because I believe in the righteousness of God; for this too belongs only to persons. This is more than abhorrence of sin, a negative quality. It is more than the quality of truth. It is not a passive but an active quality, which seeks ever to extend itself, to make harmony out of discord, to right the wrong. Righteousness is not only the quality of being right but of making right.

I believe in a Holy God, that is, in his absolute perfection. In this are to be included what we are pleased to call the attributes of God. But it is not in the numbering of God's attributes, nor in the elaboration of them singly, that we are to find the perfection of God, but in viewing them in their harmony. I stand in awe before this holiness of God. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me. Now I know in part. But I believe in the holiness of God.

I believe in the Fatherhood of God. This is implied in what I have said of the character of God. The Fatherhood of God in its relation to men is, I apprehend, only one item of the truth of the doctrine. I look for the true meaning of the doctrine and that which will illuminate all portions of it in the eternal relationship of the Father to the Son.

This is the God in whom I believe. Whatever else is true, I am sure of Him. Gradually He is revealing himself to me, and always in proportion to my willingness to do his will.

I believe in man, in man as an individual, made in the image of God, that is, a moral being. He knows the distinction between right and wrong and is capable of moral choices. Every man has a conscience. It is the vestige of his Godlikeness. But I am also confronted with the fact that every man has abused his conscience and has selfishly exercised the free choice with which he has been beneficently endowed. I believe then that all men are sinners in that they have transgressed the law of their being. The sinner is the man who has wronged himself.

I believe also that man is a social being, that no man liveth unto himself or dieth unto himself. Every life has an influence upon every other life. Every man is dependent upon every other man. The race is an organism. We are members one of another. Sin, then, is not only wrong to one's self; it is an injury to the whole race, and an affront to God. Sin is preëminently the assertion of self against the well-being of God and the race, the appropriation or retention by the individual of what belongs to God and mankind.

I recognize also the power of heredity and circumstance, both in the direction of sin and of salvation. They can minister to either, but except the powers of salvation be applied the world is a *lost* world. Man without the Gospel of Divine Help degenerates. Without Christ man is involved in utter ruin, physical, mental, and moral ruin. This result is not forensic or arbitrary. It follows from the nature of things. There must be eternal punishment of eternal sin.

I believe, then, that sin exists, and that the guilt of it is awful beyond expression. The origin of sin is to me a mystery. Its end is also a mystery. Alas, I know that it is mighty now!

Although man has fallen into sin, God has never relinquished his hold on him. Sinful men are God's prodigal children. From the first, God has been seeking to save that which was lost. The Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world.

For this purpose of salvation God entered in a marked degree into the life of one nation, till in the fullness of the times, there dwelt the fullness of the Godhead bodily in Jesus Christ. As the result of the national life of Israel, there come to us the Scriptures of the Old Testament. They are the record of the progressive revelation of God to Israel.

The special revelation of God in Christ bore fruit in the Christian type of character. This, in turn, has given us the New Testament Scripture, which is the record of the progressive revelation of God to Christian disciples. I believe that both the Old and New Testaments were written by men inspired of God. I believe that this inspiration was necessary in order that God's revelation might be adequately given to men for their salvation. As the result of this inspiration I believe that the Bible is the only infallible rule of faith and practice. The value of the Bible to the soul depends most of all upon the attitude of the soul to God. As a



spiritual guide and help it stands without a rival. I believe therefore in its constant intelligent use.

I believe that God's self-revelation to man is complete in Jesus Christ the Son of God. The possibility of this revelation, I believe, rests in the doctrine of the Trinity. Because all things are mediated through Christ, He is the mediator between God and man. Because He was the Son of God, He could become the Son of Man. And I believe that God's loving and righteous purpose to save men was so strong that for this end He gave his only-begotten Son. I believe that it was only by such a sacrifice that a fallen and lost race could be brought back to God. I believe therefore that it was necessary for Christ to empty himself of his glory, to enter into the life of humanity, to gather up humanity into himself, and to offer it to God in suffering sacrifice. And I believe that Christ *was* incarnate, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, and that He *did* thus suffer under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, and that He rose from the dead, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

I believe in the Atonement. It assures me of the righteousness of God as a simple proclamation of forgiveness would not. When I have sinned, it satisfies my sense of the love of God as I could not be satisfied if I believed that He would be pleased at any offering of my own. I believe that the atonement of Christ contains a solution of the problem of suffering. On the one hand I see the whole creation groaning and travailling together in pain. Man and beast are alike afflicted. On the other hand I see Christ, through whom all things were created, himself made perfect through suffering. Moreover I see those men who have in greatest measure the spirit of Christ also being purified by pain, and I believe that in Christ is to be found the solution of suffering. Again, I believe in the atonement because it furnishes to sinful man the power to get away from his sin and does so without impairing his sense of guilt.

I believe that the Atonement is intended to be universal in its application, that Christ tasted death for every man, and that its application is limited only by the willful rejection of it on man's part.

I believe that the cross of Christ is the sufficient and the only means through which sinful man may regain his proper position both of harmony with the laws of his being and of friendship with God. I believe in the restorative power of God's forgiveness.

But in order for sin-sick man to gain health of sin, he must accept the remedy which the great physician provides. This acceptance is an act of the will, and it includes a belief in the love of God, and the formation of a purpose always to choose the right and not the wrong. I believe then in the necessity of repentance and faith for sinful men.

I believe also that the acceptance on man's part of God's proffered salvation is the birth of the new or eternal life in the individual soul. All men need to be born anew and from above both on the ground of

their relation to nature and because they are sinners. I believe then in the doctrine of regeneration.

But the new life, or eternal life, must develop. I believe therefore in the doctrine of sanctification.

I believe that regeneration and sanctification are secured by the agency of the Holy Spirit. I believe that He is also that Comforter, that is, the Strengtheners, and that He is God working in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure. But as his agency is not mechanical but vital, I believe in the necessity of man's coöperation with Him. Therefore we must work out our own salvation. I believe it is the office of the Holy Spirit to convince the world of sin in that *the* sin of the world is unbelief in Christ, of righteousness in that God's righteousness is satisfied in Christ, of judgment in that sin is being separated from holiness. This judgment I believe will culminate at the end of this dispensation at the second coming of our Lord.

As to future things, I believe that the supreme fact revealed is the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in glory to judgment. Christ's judgment will not be arbitrary, but in righteousness, according to his gospel. This judgment, I believe, is final. The wicked shall forever depart from God, but the righteous shall forever live with God. I believe that we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God, and each one of us shall give account of himself to God whose servant each one is, and before Whom each standeth or falleth.

Of the intermediate state I hold no positive doctrine. I do not know what effect physical death will have upon character. What I dread for my fellow-men is *spiritual* death. I am confronted with the tremendous fact that without the gospel they are dying. Character tends to fixity. The Spirit of God will not strive with men forever. Then woe is me if I preach not the gospel at once. With the gospel message I believe there comes the decisive opportunity and obligation to repent. God help me so to present this message that men shall be saved by it and not lost.

Those who do not hear the message in this life, I trustfully leave to God. I do not claim to know God's method of dealing with them. But I do not refuse to think about them. I entertain in their behalf what I conceive to be a reasonable hope that somehow, before their destinies are fixed, there shall be revealed to them the love of God in Christ Jesus. In this, as in every question to which God has given no distinct answer, I merely claim the liberty of the gospel.

In this world for the procuring of holiness in man I believe that the Holy Spirit works through the institutions and sacraments of the church. The chief of these are the Sabbath, the rite of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath, and it should therefore be so used as to conduce to man's highest welfare. I believe in its sacred use as a day of worship, of refreshment, and of doing good. I believe that all men have a right to its rest from labor and to its quiet use, free from the encroachments of greed and pleasure. The Sabbath I regard as one of the invaluable present blessings of Christ, and I consider it a great privilege to take this blessing into the monotony of heathen life.

I believe in Baptism as a symbol of repentance, self-sacrifice, and purification. I believe in infant Baptism as recognizing, what the Abrahamic covenant recognized, that the unit of society is the family, and that all the family are God's children.

I believe in the Eucharist. It is properly called the Lord's Supper because instituted by Him. I believe in its regular celebration as furnishing the special occasion for the heart of the Christian to be united with God.

Finally, I believe in the church of God. Although its outward form is manifold because adapted to the various needs of men, and imperfect because conditioned by sinful men, yet it is the highest expression of God's life in the world and is therefore to be the community of all God's saints.

The work of the church I believe to be the building up of the kingdom of God upon earth. Its work is not merely the saving of a few souls here or there, nor the saving of this or that nation, but the *world* is to be saved. Moreover, I believe that no part of humanity, whether nation or sect, can attain to its highest welfare until every part of the race surrenders itself to the good of the whole and is united to God. America cannot be saved until the uttermost parts of the earth shall come to God. God hath made of one every nation of men. The work of the church is to make the world one in Christ Jesus. The kingdoms of this earth shall be the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

Mr. Noyes having concluded his statement, answered questions as follows:—

MR. HUBBARD. I would like to ask regarding the church membership of the candidate. It has not been presented.

MR. NOYES. I am a member of this church.

REV. DR. GRIFFIS. Is your going to the foreign field as a missionary conditioned upon going to Japan?

MR. NOYES. No, sir.

DR. GRIFFIS. Would you go to Siberia if this church wished you to?

MR. NOYES. Not if this church, but if the Lord wished me to.

DR. GRIFFIS. If the Lord wished you to go to Siberia you would go?

MR. NOYES. If He made it plain to me, I would say, I will go.

MR. COLBY. I would like to inquire whether or not the candidate has offered his services to the American Board as a foreign missionary?

MR. NOYES. June, 1886, I offered myself to the American Board.

REV. MR. BEACH. I understood the candidate to say that he believed in the judgment, and that its decisions are final and irreversible—that you hold no affirmative doctrine with reference to the possibility of those who have passed out of this world without the knowledge of Christ having an opportunity to accept Him in another. Simply the liberty of hoping that it might be?

MR. NOYES. I hold no affirmative doctrine.

REV. MR. BEACH. May I ask again with reference to un doctrinal matters. Is it your purpose to go to the field alluded to in the extract from the "Missionary Herald," or are your plans indefinite?

MR. NOYES. Probably I shall go to Japan.

REV. MR. BEACH. If your decision is to that field, I would like to ask how far that field is from the stations of the Board. . . . In your purpose to go to Japan, do you supply any guarantees that your work shall not antagonize the work of the American Board? In the statement made by the church I understood that they had such faith in you that you would work in sympathy. Do you make any more definite pledge?

MR. NOYES. I have never thought of making any pledge. I have never had any trouble with people. But if any members of this Council desire any definite understanding, I am willing to make pledges to be a good Christian.

REV. MR. BEACH. My dear friend, I believe it, but I was thinking of the difficulties which might arise in the mind of some brother who would wish some assurance more than faith in your Christianity that your work would not antagonize the work of the American Board. If this Council should wish to include in its results a clause that it was understood that your work would not be antagonistic to the American Board, are you willing to give such a pledge?

MR. NOYES. I am willing to make such a pledge.

REV. MR. BEACH. I had no doubt of it.

REV. DR. ALEXANDER. I would ask the candidate how far this hope of a future probation would enter into his teachings.

MR. NOYES. I can answer by my experience here, not at all in my teaching. It gives me a comforting thought of God. I do not promise to seal my lips forever to any man when I believe he could be helped to God by knowing what my hope was. I should speak of it to them only with the hope of bringing men nearer to God.

DR. ALEXANDER. You would not consider it a fundamental thought.

MR. NOYES. It is a hope only.

REV. DR. MERRIMAN. Do you believe heartily in the Apostles' Creed?

MR. NOYES. I do.

DR. MERRIMAN. Can you subscribe to the Nicene Creed?

MR. NOYES. I can.

DR. MERRIMAN. Do you heartily accept the creed of this church?

MR. NOYES. Yes, sir.

DR. MERRIMAN. Can you heartily accept the creed promulgated by the Evangelical Alliance?

MR. NOYES. I can.

DR. MERRIMAN. Do you accept the Creed of the Congregational Council?

MR. NOYES. Yes, sir.

DR. BURROUGHS. I would like to ask him a single question. Do you feel that you have put your position before the American Board with the same plainness that you now do before this Council?

MR. NOYES. I think I have learned something in the last two years and a half. I believe that my faith is more vital now than it was then. With that difference I know no difference between my position then and now.

DR. BURROUGHS. Do you think that increased vitality has changed your position? Do you think that you have conveyed to us this afternoon any more definite expression of your faith than that impression which you believe you conveyed to the American Board?

MR. NOYES. It is difficult to tell what impression I have conveyed to the American Board. I was not even permitted then to make a primary statement to them, but all my statements were in answer to questions. I was put upon the defensive. I have no doubt with my frank nature I said some things which I would not have written upon paper.

DR. BURROUGHS. You do not think, Brother Noyes, that you have changed your feelings in regard to anything you said before the Board?

MR. NOYES. I have not changed my feelings, intentionally I have not changed my expression.

DR. MERRIMAN. Did you intend to convey to the officers of the American Board the same representation of Christian doctrine which you have made this afternoon?

MR. NOYES. I did.

REV. DR. DEXTER. In what point do you place your hypothesis or theory of probation after death? Do you look upon that theory as a part of your working theology to be practically employed whenever you think it likely to be helpful in your missionary labors?

MR. NOYES. The question seems to me a compound one that I could not answer safely Yes or No. It is not a part of my doctrine, but it is a hope that I have, a hope that has appealed to my heart more than to anything else. I do not find it contradicted by my reason or by Scripture.

DR. DEXTER. Perhaps if I ask it in a different way you may be able to answer. Is that theory a vague hope, unforbidden by Scripture, which you look upon as a possibility, yet consider liable to correction by future knowledge, or is it a definite and settled belief?

MR. NOYES. I could not answer that by Yes or No. If you will divide your question, I will try to answer it frankly.

DR. DEXTER. Is that theory in your mind a vague hope, unforbidden by the Scriptures, but unsustained by them, yet considered liable to correction by future knowledge?

MR. NOYES (*reading*). I do not refuse to think about those who do not hear the gospel message in this life. I entertain in their behalf what I conceive to be a reasonable hope. This I do not think is precluded by Scripture.

DR. DEXTER. Is it your distinct and settled dogmatic conviction?

MR. NOYES. It is not.

DR. DEXTER. Is it, in your judgment, a satisfactory reply to say that the holy Judge may be depended upon to do right in any case, or do you regard the hypothesis of probation after death as a belief that you would teach to a man who might come to you for help?

MR. NOYES. It would depend upon the man and my knowledge of the man. I cannot say before I see the man what I would say. It is purely a supposititious case. I think there are cases where it might be wise to say that the Judge of all the earth will do right.

DR. DEXTER. It is more satisfactory, the thought that the Judge of all the earth will do right, than this other, which is not so clear?

MR. NOYES. Yes, sir.

DR. GRIFFIS. If the American Board had accepted you on your statement of belief, and ordered you to some country like Corea, would you have gone? Is your going as a foreign missionary conditioned upon your going to Japan?

MR. NOYES. No.

DR. GRIFFIS. If in view of your statement here the American Board, looking the field over, would like to send you, would it be agreeable to you to go under the American Board?

MR. NOYES. For some reasons I should rather go out under them than under any other body.

DR. GRIFFIS. You would leave it open to go under the American Board?

MR. NOYES. If God should call me to go under the American Board I should go.

DR. ALEXANDER. Do I understand that a statement was made to the American Board as full as that you have made here to-day?

MR. NOYES. I have never made so full a statement before.

DR. ALEXANDER. What statement did you give?

MR. NOYES. I replied to questions.

DR. ALEXANDER. Were the questions confined to any particular point?

MR. NOYES. They were the replies to the question in the manual of the American Board, What, in your view, are the leading doctrines of the Scriptures? To which I merely replied: The Fatherhood of God, the Deity of Christ, the Personality of the Holy Spirit, the Inspiration of



the Bible, and so on. Then I was called to a private conference before the Secretaries of the American Board, and was asked three questions: Do you believe in the inspiration of Scripture? I do. Do you believe in the vicarious atonement of Christ? I do. And then they questioned me for an hour and a half as to the future state of those who have not heard the gospel in this life.

PRESIDENT PORTER. The phrase American Board seems to be very ambiguous. I must plead in honor of the Board that the good name of the Board should not be called in question so freely as it is here.

DR. BURROUGHS. Do you not believe that you have, this afternoon, made a clearer statement of the feelings of your heart and the conviction of your mind than you have previously stated them?

MR. NOYES. I have, because I have had a better opportunity.

REV. DR. SMYTH. On the point on which they examined you an hour [*A Voice*: and a half], have you expressed yourself more fully to us than you did to them?

MR. NOYES. No.

DR. BURROUGHS. I think the fullness does not always depend upon the time. I understand that Brother Noyes says that he has not made a written statement previous to this.

MR. NOYES. I understand your question whether I stated my whole belief.

DR. BURROUGHS. I would like to repeat. Do you not believe that this afternoon you have stated more adequately and clearly the faith of your heart and the understanding of your intellect than you have previously before the Prudential Committee of the American Board?

PRES. PORTER. I object to the question entirely. It is not a part of our business to inquire whether they ought to be satisfied with this examination or not. We should not put the American Board on trial.

DR. BURROUGHS. Brother Noyes has been a member of the College Church until one year since, and I ask this question for my own information.

MODERATOR. The question is in order.

MR. NOYES. Do you ask whether I have stated more radically and clearly the whole belief of my heart with regard to my belief in God and his relation to us, or my belief in regard to his dealings with men who are unsaved?

DR. BURROUGHS. If Brother Noyes would like to answer the question separately in regard to God's dealings with humanity, I would like him to do so.

MR. NOYES. I have made a more direct and clear statement to-day than I ever made before. With regard to certain points in my belief I have been drawn out and forced almost to reply to things which do not in my practical life with men have a very close connection with my dealings with them.

DR. BURROUGHS. Is not the substance of it this, that you never had such an opportunity as this to fully and symmetrically express your belief?

MR. NOYES. That is true.

MR. BEACH. Is it not true that you never had so full an opportunity, but that in a certain line you had ample opportunity to state your views orally, did you not?

MR. NOYES. If you mean by ample fair, I should object.

REV. MR. BEACH. I meant a fuller opportunity.

MR. NOYES. Yes, sir.

A DELEGATE. Would you as soon labor under the auspices of the American Board as under the auspices of this church now, or at any future time?

MR. NOYES. Certainly, if the American Board would give me the same guarantee of their sympathy as I have had from this church.

REV. CHARLES L. NOYES. I would like the liberty of asking a question. I was about to ask it when Mr. Beach spoke. I understood you to say that you made but one statement of your belief before the representative of the American Board.

MR. NOYES. That is not true.

REV. C. L. NOYES. I want to ask you if you have not made more than one statement. It may save asking the other questions, whether you have as adequately and clearly made your statement to the American Board? or, whether you have not neglected some adequate statement of your entire belief?

MR. NOYES. I am glad of the question, for it enables me to state the matter fully. I stated, at first, simply the outlines of my faith, then afterward was called to a conference with regard to this particular question which has been agitating the church. And after that conference there was submitted to the Prudential Committee, by one of the Secretaries, a statement in his own words of my hypotheses, beliefs, and everything else, without my first seeing it and subscribing to it. On the strength of that they took their first vote. After this, my statement of belief, in another man's words, was submitted for my approval. I wrote to them that they had misinterpreted me. Then came the next action of the American Board. After waiting some months, my dear friend Mr. Torrey and myself handed in a statement to the Prudential Committee in which we tried to put in its right proportion our Christian theological belief. After that there came the final action of the American Board. Now I can still say honestly that this statement I have read is the clearest and most satisfactory that I have ever written. And yet I do not know that it is any clearer than our other one which was published. We expressed our faith. I suppose that this must seem clearer now because it is fresh from my own heart and mind.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LECTURES ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BABYLONIANS. By A. H. SAYCE. 8vo, pp. viii, 558. London: Williams & Norgate. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The value of this book is in its matter. An enterprising and omnivorous scholar has brought together the facts in a great department. Familiarity with his field is stamped on every page. It is to be deplored that the volume should begin and end in an apologetic tone.

The subject appeals specially to students of comparative mythology, ancient history, and Oriental philology. Lectures may involve repetition. But lectures on the origin and growth of religion will float a large amount of repetition safely. We only ask that what is said twice be vivid, pertinent, and weighty. Professor Sayce never fails his readers here. He tells us thus of sacred stories carved on gems; of the world-tree and world mountain in relation to deities; of the identity of the sacred ships of Eridu and Egypt; of Lugal-tudda the divine storm-bird compared with Prometheus as a benefactor to mankind. According to him the cedar-tree first, the palm-tree later, was the Babylonian tree of life. Seven was notoriously a sacred number. The Chaldean deluge lasted seven days. So, too, there were seven zones of Erech and gates of Hades, seven fish-like men from the Persian Gulf, seven magic knots used by the witch, seven anointings of the sick with oil. Totemism was once rife in Chaldæa. It may be that the distinction of clean and unclean food, common to Assyrian, Babylonian, and Jew, was a survival of this. Ultimately the Gods of the Euphrates were HUMAN in form. Originally they were bestial as those of the Nile. This is entertaining and suggestive.

Professor Sayce has something to say on words as well as worship. Of these he gives an index covering several pages and conducting readily to the cuneiform names on which he has commented. This is useful. Most reviewers have called attention to his derivation of Moses from *māsu* "hero," and of Joseph from *asipu* "diviner." Sin was the moon-God. Was Sinai as he suggests nothing but the mountain dedicated to the moon-God? He has little doubt that the Babylonian pantheon throws light on the names of the first three kings of Israel. No one of them bore in childhood the name by which he is known in history. Saul was the Sun God of Babylon *Sawul*. David is the *Dod* or *Dodo* adored by the side of Jahveh in the time of the Moabite Stone—a title transferred to Jesse's son by popular affection. Solomon according to the express witness of the descriptions was a divine name—that is, *Sallimmanu*—the God of peace! All this will seem to some a gleam of darkness instead of light. It attests the fancy, the audacity, the illogicalness of the author where we have a right to expect sobriety, caution, and exactitude.

As a whole, the volume lacks form and finish. The writer's mind is clarifying at the reader's cost. We see the Sacred Books of Chaldæa as through a fog. The author is positive about the chronology of Naram Sin 3750 B. C. He is uncertain concerning the Babylonian doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Tammuz and Istar are translated rather than interpreted. He describes graphically the June festival by the reddening river of the slaughtered Sun God, while herbs wither and women wail. He cannot probe the significance of the cult which Ezekiel loathed,

at the gate of the Lord's House, and Jeremiah has branded in refrain, "Ah me, Adonis, and ah me, his lady." We are grateful for this erudite study. The masterly picture we cannot find.

*John Phelps Taylor.*

**JOHN WARD, PREACHER.** By MARGARET DELAND, author of "The Old Garden." Fifth Edition. 12mo, pp. 473. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. \$1.50.

It is a significant fact, as illustrating the great interest taken in the current religious controversies, that the theological novel seems to have a recognized place among the works of popular fiction of the day: more than one such has appeared of late, and has been read and discussed by all sorts of people with a degree of interest which could hardly have been excited a few years ago.

"John Ward, Preacher," is one of these novels; it is written with the intention of showing the effect which the old dogmas of Calvinism, as formerly taught, and now nominally held by some bodies of Christians, would have, if fully believed and thoroughly accepted and carried out to their logical conclusion, by a conscientious, sincere, uncompromising man of deep religious faith and unfaltering adherence to his convictions, in spite of any suffering to himself or to those dear to him which such convictions might involve.

Two typical clergymen are presented to us in this book: one, such as we have indicated, and the other an easy, good-natured, comfortable man, orthodox, of course, because his creed and his prayer-book obliged him to be so, but turning away with a smile of half contemptuous pity from a fanatic who could allow his creed so to master his life as to interfere with the orderly arrangement of it, and to substitute for the happy, comfortable routine of religious duty the disturbing and revolutionary application of theories, very respectable and proper in old confessions of faith, to the individual men and women who crossed his path every day, and to those even whose life was bound up in his own life.

This sort of clergyman is by no means rare; we all know such, and like them, and delight to have them for friends and companions; perhaps, however, they belong to a former generation more often than to the present one.

The clergyman of the John Ward type is much less common; perhaps we should not like him if we were to meet him; he certainly would not make so agreeable a traveling companion as the other sort, and his sermons would be much less pleasant to listen to; but his deep earnestness and self-abnegation must surely inspire our respect, even though we did not agree with his conclusions.

To such a man, Helen, the heroine of the story, is married, and in Helen's character, beautiful and lovable as it is in many respects, lies the chief disappointment of the story. We wish her great success when she is combating with all the force of her intense nature the distorted views of God and retribution which prevailed among her husband's parishioners; but we cannot help wondering what she had to give these same people when she had taken from them the beliefs in which they had been reared; apparently, she had nothing, beyond the vague and general assertion that God is good; hence we can account for poor Mrs. Davis, in her distress about her husband's condition, turning from Helen's vehe-

ment denials of the old theology which ended there, back, even to the horrible certainties of Elder Dean's assertions; for he at least believed something definite. Here, also, is the clue to the utter absence of influence in Helen over her husband in matters of faith, which seems unusual in the case of a wife otherwise so loved and trusted. If she could have shaken her husband's faith in his inherited dogmas, and given him nothing but platitudes in its place, she would have sent him out like a ship without rudder or compass, at the mercy of the winds and waves; the old faith at least gave him strength to suffer, the lack of faith would have left him with nothing at all. Could Helen have exhibited to John in her own life a faith built upon the same everlasting foundation as his own, lofty as his own, calm and assured in experience and personal knowledge, as well as in the intellectual perception of its truth; a faith which, having searched deeper and seen more truly into the hidden things of God, had found in them a new and happier meaning, and a more Christian solution of the problems of human destiny, it would seem that even John Ward could hardly have failed to have been moved by the sight, and to have allowed his stern theories to be softened by it, but he saw no such thing; poor Helen, to the last, had not even the comfort which John's religion gave him, and our respect is almost won for the hard faith which could produce such a character as his, in spite of its terrible distortions of truth. The other characters of the story are also very interesting; they are a relief from the severe strain of the long trouble of the life of the two chief persons. The old lawyer, in the simple weakness yet honesty of his character, becomes quite pathetic in his death; the maiden sisters, and all the inhabitants of this out-of-the-world village, are quaint and picturesque in their old-fashioned life, so out of harmony with the great, rushing world which lay so far from them, and yet so near to them; while pretty little Lois, with her girlish trials, and her honest, manly lover, seem such healthy, human, natural characters, that they and their affairs are able to take us away from the distress and gloom which pervade the story, and bring us into the clear, healthy atmosphere of every-day life.

\* \* \*

#### RECENT ECONOMIC LITERATURE.

Time was, not many years ago, when a writer upon the above theme would have been forced from the very paucity of American works to confine himself to European and especially to German authors. Now, on the other hand, thanks to a recently awakened public interest in economic questions and the application to their study of thorough scientific methods, the difficulty confronting the reviewer lies in the choice of the best from an abundant contribution of valuable books and monographs.

Confining ourselves to publications of the current year, prominent mention should be made of Professor Ely's work on "*Taxation in American States and Cities*," which no student or writer upon taxation and no legislator in state or local bodies can afford to be without. It is already recognized as the best and most practical book on the subject in the English language, is very readable, and is admirably adapted by its division into sections for use as a text-book in colleges and high schools.

After an interesting discussion of the justification and kinds of taxation, Professor Ely briefly traces the history of our various systems from colonial times and brings out clearly two facts: that our present systems

of taxation are in a perfectly chaotic condition, no two States being alike and no one seeming to have a clear comprehension of the line of advance. In the second place, that the only principle on which almost all agree, the attempt to tax all property alike, is everywhere a failure and can never be anything else.

Personal property in the majority of cases is not reached in any community, and the tax thereon is only paid by a few of the most honest. Professor Ely, after proving the existence of this deplorable state of things all over the country, advocates, as does Mayor Hewitt of New York, the entire abolition of personal property taxes, but he goes on from this to advocate other taxes in their place, instead of proposing to put all the burden on real estate, as do many. Professor Ely would tax the stock and bonds of all corporations, making the tax higher when the dividends are six per cent. or over, and in lieu of most licenses and taxes on merchandise, plant and furniture of all stores, offices, manufacturing establishments and other places of business, he would levy a tax equal to ten per cent. on the annual rental of their places of business.

All the above and taxes on real estate and on the gross earnings of local monopolies, such as street-car lines, gas works, and electric lights, should go to the local bodies, municipalities, and towns.

The State should derive its revenues chiefly from taxes on the gross earnings of railroads, telegraph lines, express companies, and other great quasi public monopolies, from a slightly progressive tax on inheritances and bequests, and by a two per cent. income tax, which latter, it is thought, could be easily collected, even if a five and ten per cent. tax during the war was often evaded. The smaller the per cent. of tax the greater the proportionate amount obtained and the less the evasion. By entirely divorcing the State from taxation of real estate, the present great temptation to under-valuation or unequal of counties and towns would disappear. But no summary will do justice to this valuable work.

Much less comprehensive and important, but still of value, is the small work on Taxation by the able Italian economist Cossa, just translated. The introduction and notes are by Horace White. The many forms of taxes in this country and Europe are clearly classified and briefly discussed.

The present tariff controversy has brought out two books at least of much interest and value. One is "The National Revenues," edited by Dr. Shaw of the Minneapolis "Tribune," and consisting of twenty chapters on various aspects of the tariff question by the economic teachers of most of our leading colleges and universities and two economic writers of well-known standing. It is exceedingly interesting to have in one little book the views of the professors at Johns Hopkins, Yale, Harvard, Columbia, Amherst, Vanderbilt, Bryn Maur, Smith, the Universities of Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Iowa College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Georgetown (Ky.) College, and Hon. Carrol D. Wright and Dr. Shaw. It is also interesting to note, that while with one or two exceptions all believe in lowering or taking off entirely our duties on raw material, none are dogmatic theorists or rabid advocates of free trade. All believe in a close study of facts, and most believe in the possibility of an advantageous temporary protection to industries that give strong promise of ere long becoming self-supporting. Very few, however, believe in protection as a permanent policy.

In the tariff discussion, one of our first needs is an accurate, impartial



history of our past tariff legislation. It can truthfully be said that the only such book in the market is that just written by Professor Taussig of Harvard, and published by the Putnams, entitled "The Tariff History of the United States." Several chapters have appeared in recent magazines and elsewhere, but are now revised and published in connected order. Professor Taussig may be designated as a moderate free-trader. He appears to have much faith in the argument for protection to infant manufacturing industries during the early stages of a nation's industrial development, as between 1808 and 1832 in our own history, and to deprecate any rapid or violent reductions in our protective duties at present, save in the case of extractive and agricultural industries, like lumber, wool, sugar, iron, and coal. In these he evidently favors, like most economists, entire removal of duties in the immediate future, and opposes increased duties in any direction. But Professor Taussig does not, as do so many in this controversy, impute dishonesty or blindness to those who differ with him, and in fact does not try to argue the question at all, but to give a plain, unbiased account of our tariff history.

The extreme form of ultra-protectionism which would never reduce tariff duties, but rather raise them all around, is advocated in a voluminous work on "Principles of Economic Philosophy," by Denslow of Chicago. Many parts of the book are interesting, but so full of inaccuracies of fact as to make one very suspicious, to say the least, of his conclusions therefrom. He opposes all state regulation of public monopolies like railroads, and even considers state ownership of the post-office very questionable policy, believes in unrestricted immigration, and holds that extreme material poverty in the shape of want of necessary food and clothing is as much an economic necessity as "the regular return of winter's cold and summer's heat is a physical necessity," ignoring entirely the probability that education may create new wants and stimulate to work even after absolute physical necessities are supplied. One sentence will suffice to illustrate his literary style. "No assumption is more frequent in economic discussion than that England not only practices, but stunningly illustrates free foreign trade."

In "Problems of To-day," published by Crowell of New York, Professor Ely presents in popular form important views upon the tariff, natural monopolies, and taxation. His argument for city ownership of water supply and gas works, and city regulation and better methods of taxation than at present of horse-car lines, deserves the careful reading of everyone, and cannot fail to interest even those who do not accept all of his conclusions.

The recent revision of the larger edition of Walker's "Political Economy," in which he has made some improvements and additions in the treatment especially of some of the applications of economic principles to rent, taxation, the tariff, trades unions, money, etc., gives occasion to refer to his book as, in the opinion of most of the economic professors consulted by the writer of this review, the best college text-book and scientific treatise on the subject. There is still room for a good high-school text-book which shall be somewhat simpler and briefer.

Gunton's work, "Wealth and Progress," which attracted some very flattering notices from good critics at the time of its appearance early in the year, has failed to win for itself acceptance of the main theory of the book that wages are dependent on the expenditures of the wage-receiving class, independent of any resulting efficiency. The standard of living of

the wage-earners does undoubtedly have a great influence on their wages, but only in the long run when through their standard of living any given class of workmen become more efficient producers than when living amid poorer material conditions.

During the present year two economic articles in the "Britannica," which attracted much attention last year, have been reprinted in book-form. "The History of Political Economy" by Professor Ingram, with an introduction by Professor James, has already taken rank as the best of its kind in English. The book closely follows the "Britannica" article, with wise expansion in some places.

"An Inquiry into Socialism," by Kirkup, does not follow the encyclopedia article so closely, since the book not only gives the history and a philosophical judgment of the merits and errors of socialism, but presents at some length the strongest socialistic criticisms of our present industrial organization. The writer, who is strongly inclined toward socialism, but not an entire adherent, has given a very good interpretation of the more favorable side of his subject. In the same connection, in order to get a somewhat less roseate yet not a prejudiced view, one should read Rae's recent articles in the August and September numbers of the "Contemporary," as also Mallock's articles in the "Fortnightly" in 1887.

It does not become the writer of this review to say much about the work of over five hundred pages on "Coöperation in the United States," edited by Professor Ely, but in view of the valuable contributions to it by others it may not be out of place here to name at least a book which has been so kindly received by reviewers and which has aimed to give the history and present position of coöperative enterprises in this country, and to deduce therefrom lessons and practical rules for the guidance of coöperators in the future. No one person could have accomplished the task, but half a dozen students in the course of two years managed to cover the field in a somewhat comprehensive manner.

Some of the most important economic work of the year has appeared in the monographs of the American Economic Association, the publication of which is superintended by the secretary, Professor Ely. The last six monographs cover the following broad range of topics: Two Chapters on the Mediæval Guilds of England; The Relation of Modern Municipalities to Quasi-Public Works; Three Papers read at annual meeting in 1887 on Statistics in Colleges; Sociology and Political Economy; The Legal Tender Decisions; Capital and its Earnings; Statistics and Economics and collection of other papers read at the Boston meeting on The Manual Labor Class; Mine Labor in the Hocking Valley, and the report of the secretary.

A new department of economic literature of great and increasing value is that of the reports of our various state and national bureaus of labor statistics. The most notable reports of the past year are those of the national bureaus of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The report of Atkinson on Bimetallism in Europe should also be mentioned. All these reports are sent free, even including postage in some cases, to all students of social problems who will take the trouble to write to the commissioners of labor statistics for them. Some of the reports, especially those just named, are not only valuable but often interesting, while others are neither. Every year, however, witnesses an improvement.

Even a short and confessedly fragmentary sketch like this, of recent works in economics, would be incomplete without reference to the two most valuable economic quarterlies, which no student of social and economic questions can afford to dispense with,—the "Political Science Quarterly," edited by the Columbia faculty and published by Ginn & Co. of New York, and the "Quarterly Journal of Economics," edited at Harvard and published by George H. Ellis of Boston.

The science of economics or political economy has a great future. Its importance is daily becoming more recognized, and as good work, if not yet as much of it, is being done here as in Germany, which, until recently, has been far in advance of us in this important department.

Edward W. Bemis.

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### BOOKS RECEIVED.

*Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago.* Odds and Ends : or Gleanings from Missionary Life. By Rev. C. H. Wheeler, D. D., of Harpoot, author of "Ten Years on the Euphrates," "Letters from Eden," "Grace Illustrated." Pp. xii, 202. \$1.25 ; — Chubby Ruff, and other Stories. By Rev. George Huntington. Pp. 200. \$1.00 ; — Marie's Story. A Tale of the Days of Louis XIV. By Mary E. Banford. Pp. 145. \$1.00 ; — Bertha Gordon. By May Kingston, author of "Phebe Skiddy's Theology," "Wonderful Cousin Sarah," "Easy-Chair Stories," etc. Pp. 118. 75 cents ; — The Story of Little Johnny Twoboys. By Julia Holmes Boynton. Pp. 57. 60 cents ; — The Transfiguration of Life, and other Sermons. By Rev. Edward S. Atwood, D. D. A Memorial Volume. Pp. 242. \$1.25 ; — The Mayflower, for Youngest Readers. 1888. Pp. 208. 75 cents ; — Pilgrim's Letters: Bits of Current History picked up in the West and South during the last Thirty Years, for "The Independent," "The Congregationalist," and "The Advance." By Joseph E. Roy. Pp. 310. \$1.50.

*Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.* Poetry, Comedy, and Duty. By C. C. Everett, D. D., Bussey Professor of Theology in Harvard University. Crown 8vo, pp. iv, 315. 1888. \$1.50 ; — The Law of Equivalents in its Relations to Political and Social Ethics. By Edward Payson. Crown 8vo, pp. viii, 306. 1888. \$2.00 ; — Indiana : A Redemption from Slavery. Vol. XII. of American Commonwealths. By J. P. Dunn, Jr., Secretary of Indiana Historical Society; author of "Massacres of the Mountains." 16mo, pp. viii, 453. 1888. \$1.25 ; — Books and Men. By Agnes Repplier. 16mo, pp. 224. 1888. \$1.25 ; — Sigurd Slembe. A Dramatic Trilogy. By Björnstjerne Björnson. Translated from the Norwegian by William Morton Payne. Crown 8vo, pp. viii, 323. 1888. \$1.50.

*Jordan, Marsh & Co., Boston.* Jack in the Bush, or a Summer on a Salmon River. By Robert Grant, author of "Jack Hall," "Face to Face," "The Confessions of a Frivolous Girl," etc. Pp. 374. 1888.

*Roberts Brothers, Boston.* Harvard Vespers. Addresses to Harvard Students. By the Preachers to the University. 1886-1888. Pp. 233. 1888.

*Universalist Publishing House, Boston.* Manuals of Faith and Duty. No. II. Jesus the Christ. By Rev. Stephen Crane, D. D. Pp. 96. 1888. 25 cents net.

*A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York.* The Epistle to the Hebrews. By Thomas Charles Edwards, D. D., Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Pp. vi, 337. \$1.50 ; — The Sermon Bible. Genesis to II. Samuel. Pp. xx, 500. 1888. \$1.50.

*A. S. Barnes & Co., New York and Chicago.* Bible Studies from the Old and New Testaments, covering the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1889. By George F. Pentecost, D. D., author of "In the Volume of the Book," "Out of Egypt," etc. Pp. 402. 1882. Strong paper cover, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.00.

*Thomas Whittaker, New York.* The Bishop Paddock Lectures for 1888. The World and the Kingdom. By Hugh Miller Thompson, Bishop of Mississippi. Pp. 145. 1888. 75 cents; — The Song of Songs. Translated from the Hebrew with Occasional Notes. By the Rev. William C. Daland, A. M., Pastor of the First Seventh-Day Baptist Church, Leonardsville, N. Y. Second Edition. Pp. 50. 1888. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 30 cents.

*John D. Wattles, Philadelphia.* Yale Lectures on the Sunday School. The Sunday School, its Origin, Mission, Methods, and Auxiliaries. The Lyman Beecher Lectures before Yale Divinity School for 1888. By H. Clay Trumbull, editor of the "Sunday-School Times," author of "Kadesh Barnea," "The Blood Covenant," "Teaching and Teachers," etc. Pp. xiii, 415. 1888.

*Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.* The Complete Life. Six Sermon Lectures from the Standpoint of Modern Thought. By James H. West, author of "Uplifts of Heart and Will," "Voices of Youth," etc., etc. Pp. vi, 107. 1888. 60 cents.

*George Sherwood & Co., Chicago.* The Virtues and their Reasons. A System of Ethics for Society and Schools. By Austin Bierbower, author of "The Morals of Christ." Pp. 294. 1888; — The New Model First Reader Sentence Method. Pp. 96.

**PAMPHLETS.** — *Industrial Education Association, New York.* Monographs of the Industrial Education Association, Vol. I., No. 5. Aspects of Education. A Study in the History of Pedagogy. By Oscar Browning, M. A., King's College, Cambridge. Pp. 45. 20 cents; — *Tribune Job Print, Newaygo, Mich.* The Gladstone and Ingersoll Controversy. By Rev. Wm. Burgess, author of "Land, Labor, and Liquor," etc. Pp. 26. 1888. 10 cents; — *Universalist Publishing House, Boston.* Trial of St. Paul the Missionary before the American Board of Foreign Missions. Second Edition. Pp. 26. 1888; — The Legal Profession and American Progress. Address delivered by Ernest H. Crosby, A. M., LL. B., to the Graduating Class of the Law Department, University of the City of New York, at the Commencement Exercises, Academy of Music, June 7, 1888. Pp. 26.







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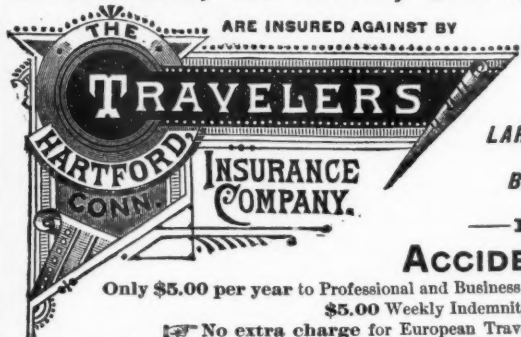
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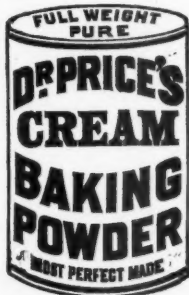
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